AVERAGE GENERAL RELIEF BENEFITS

1933 - 1938

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AVERAGE GENERAL RELIEF BENEFITS, 1933–1938

By

Enid Baird

in collaboration with

Hugh P. Brinton

1940

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Letter of Transmittal

WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION,
Washington, D. C., June 30, 1939.

SIR: I have the honor to transmit an analysis of the average amounts of relief issued to cases under general relief programs in the continental United States for the period January 1933 through June 1938. The report gives particular attention to average relief benefits during the period May 1933 through December 1935, the period of operation of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration. Far more is known about the averages for this earlier period when Federal funds were being granted to States for general relief purposes than for subsequent months when State and local governments were entirely responsible for general relief.

Supplementing the information for the country as a whole, the present report draws on special surveys made by the Works Progress Administration in selected areas for information on average benefits to cases in various groups in the relief population.

During the period 1933 through 1938 there were wide variations in both national and State average monthly benefits. The national average rose gradually from $14.36 in July 1933 to a peak of $28.13 in January 1935.

State differences in the size of average relief benefits were marked throughout the FERA program. Averages were highest in the New England and Middle Atlantic States and lowest in the Southern States; they were higher in urban areas, with higher costs of living, than in rural areas; they increased progressively with the size of the case. National averages concealed the variations in the State averages; and State averages concealed the variations between relief in urban areas and in rural areas. National and State averages concealed variations in amounts of relief to cases in component groups of the relief population.

These variations in averages are affected by many factors of which the following are of primary significance: (1) the administration of relief by States and subdivisions within States; (2) the principle of budgetary deficiency in the issuance of relief—i.e., the use of relief funds to supply only those needs of the case which could not be provided from private resources; (3) lack of uniformity in supplying budgetary items to the relief case in cash or in kind, with the use of

cash becoming more prevalent as the FERA program developed; (4) variations in local relief policies as to whether funds should be spread meagerly over many cases or used to provide larger benefits for a smaller number of cases; (5) variations among localities in the extent to which inadequate private earnings were supplemented by direct relief and in the extent to which work relief, with higher benefits, replaced direct relief; (6) transfers to the Works Program and the Social Security program within a given month which resulted in many partial-month benefits indistinguishable from full-month benefits in the totals; (7) varying size of the relief case, small cases with small benefits reaching a relatively high percent of the total after heads of large households were transferred to the Works Program; (8) changes in social attitudes toward relief; (9) differences in many localities in standards for white and Negro cases and for cases in various socio-economic groups; (10) variations in the cost of living.

This study was made jointly by the Division of Research and the Division of Statistics under the direction of Howard B. Myers and Emerson Ross, their respective Directors. The preparation of the report was supervised by Theodore E. Whiting, Assistant Director of the Division of Statistics, and John N. Webb, Chief, Urban Surveys Section, Division of Research. Special acknowledgment is made of the assistance rendered by Anne E. Geddes in the planning of the study and in the development of graphic materials.

The report was written by Enid Baird in collaboration with Hugh P. Brinton. It was edited by Mary Parker Ragatz.

Respectfully submitted.

CORRINGTON GILL,
Assistant Administrator.

COL. F. C. HARRINGTON,
Works Progress Administrator.

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Average General Relief Benefits 1933–1938

INTRODUCTION

IT IS the purpose of this monograph to analyze the average amounts of relief issued to cases [1] under general relief programs in the continental United States for the period January 1933 through June 1938. The report gives particular attention to average relief benefits during the period May 1933 through December 1935, the period of operation of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration. Comparisons by States are given for each month from July 1933 through December 1935 on a family-case basis, and for selected months on a case and a nonfamily-case basis. No State data are presented for 1936, 1937, or 1938.

The Federal Emergency Relief Act, approved May 12, 1933, authorized Federal grants to the States for emergency relief purposes, and provided for a comprehensive program of direct and work relief to be carried on by the several States under the general supervision of the FERA. These funds were distributed in accordance with fundamental policies set forth in the act and in regulations of the FERA, but the Federal Government made little attempt to establish a minimum scale of relief payments. The States were accorded a high degree of autonomy in determining relief procedures and standards of care. As a result, standards varied widely in different areas and were subject to constant modification and change in response to changing conditions of need, availability of relief funds, and changes in administrative policies.

In the absence of statistical data directly adapted to the measurement of these varying standards of relief, derived data on average monthly relief benefits [2] have been widely utilized for comparison

[1] The term *case* is used to denote either a family or a single person receiving relief. The total number of cases is equivalent to the total number of families plus the total number of single-person or nonfamily cases.

[2] The term *relief benefit* is used in this report to signify the amount of relief extended in the form of cash, commodities, and services to a relief case receiving assistance during the month. The term *relief grant*, often used interchangeably elsewhere with *relief benefit*, is reserved in this report for Federal funds made available to the States for emergency relief purposes in accordance with the provisions of the Federal Emergency Relief Act.

of the amounts of relief extended to cases in different areas or at different stages of the relief program. These averages are calculated from two basic monthly relief series, reported currently by the States, which were designed to measure other aspects of the relief program—i. e., the total amount of obligations incurred for relief extended to cases during the month and the total number of resident family and nonfamily cases receiving assistance at any time during the month.

Properly interpreted, the data on average benefits are extremely useful for comparative purposes, but they do not afford the basis for definite conclusions with respect either to the standards or to the adequacy of relief. The averages are influenced not only by differences in the standards of care but by such variable factors as the average size of relief cases, the amounts of nonrelief income, and the rates at which cases came on and left the relief rolls. The effects of these various social, economic, and technical factors on the average benefit data have been analyzed in this report primarily from the point of view of explaining differences in the computed averages for different periods of time and for component parts of the relief load.

Since the procedures for administering relief under the FERA greatly influenced the amounts of relief actually given to relief cases, they have been described in some detail. The statistical analysis of relief benefits represents a synthesis of relevant information available from the monthly relief data submitted by the States to the FERA and the WPA and from various special investigations made by these agencies. Data for the period beginning April 1937 were obtained from the Social Security Board.

The statistical data presented relate only to general direct and work relief in the continental United States. Other relief and emergency employment activities conducted during this period are not covered, although they had some influence on the size of the average general relief benefit, since some general relief cases received concurrently two or more forms of public assistance. Definitely excluded from the analysis are the transient, rural rehabilitation, college student aid, and emergency education programs of the FERA; aid to the blind, to the aged, and to dependent children under the Social Security Act, and similar types of assistance extended under special State legislation; emergency employment provided by the Civilian Conservation Corps, the National Youth Administration, the Works Progress Administration, and other Federal agencies participating in the Works Program; and Federal surplus commodities and commodities produced through work projects.

Trends in average relief benefits over a period of time are considered from the point of view of the country as a whole, for regions, and for urban and rural areas. State trends have not been examined.

In the discussion of State averages emphasis has been placed on the extent of variations among the States, with little attempt to make specific comparisons to account for trends in individual State figures. These data are recorded in detail on the charts and in the appendix tables for those who wish to interpret them in the light of local circumstances.

SUMMARY

THE FEDERAL Emergency Relief Act of 1933 and the Federal Emergency Relief Administration which it created left to each State a major part of the responsibility for developing the procedures by which general relief was to be administered and for determining standards within the State. In turn, the States frequently left a great deal of discretion to the local administrations. Consequently, there was a wide variety in procedures and standards even during the FERA period. With the discontinuation of FERA grants to the States, soon after the Works Progress Administration began operation in 1935, these differences became more pronounced.

The amount of general relief given to families under the FERA program was determined on a budgetary deficiency basis. Relief funds were used to supply only that portion of the needs of the individual or family which could not be provided from private resources. Practice varied widely among States and among communities in the relative importance attached to the various items in the budget and in the adequacy with which they were supplied.

State differences in the size of average relief benefits were very marked throughout the FERA program. The New England and the Middle Atlantic States were principally in the upper range with relatively large average benefits, whereas most Southern States were at the lower end of the scale with relatively small benefits.

Only a portion of the geographical differences in the averages during the FERA period can be attributed to variations in the budgets and standards of care. Differences in size and composition of cases, in standards and costs of living, in relative amounts given in cash, in rates of turnover, and in extent of supplementation were of fundamental importance. After the discontinuation of FERA grants these influences continued to operate, but they were sometimes overshadowed by relative differences in the amount of funds made available for general relief purposes.

Urban areas, largely because of higher costs of living, had decidedly higher average benefits than did rural areas. Therefore, within States largely urban and having high average benefits per case, there were frequently rural areas with low benefits concealed by the State average.

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The national average relief benefit per case rose gradually from $14.36 in July 1933 to a peak of $28.13 in January 1935. More liberal relief attitudes, more abundant relief funds, and more widespread payment of relief in cash contributed to increases in the average benefit until January 1935. The fact that the average benefit began to decline in 1935 and reached a low point of $21.04 in December was not necessarily an indication of the lowering of standards or the lowering of needs of individual cases. Instead, the transfer to WPA of work-relief cases, with their higher relief benefits, increased the proportion of direct-relief cases on the general relief rolls, and this resulted in a lowering of the average benefit. These transfers involved the withdrawal of large cases that had had the highest benefits, and they resulted in partial-month benefits which lowered the average.

Transfers to the public-assistance program of the Social Security Board began in February 1936, and the consequent large number of partial-month benefits continued to help keep the average at about the same low level until near the end of the year.

The fact that the amount of relief budgets was determined for the most part by State and local emergency relief administrations caused wide variations in average benefits among the several States. In July 1933, when the average monthly benefit for all States was $14.36 per case, the average in individual States ranged from a low of $3.83 in Mississippi to a high of $29.34 in Massachusetts. Similar variations existed in other months regardless of the national trend in average benefits. For instance, in January 1935, when the national monthly average was $28.13, South Carolina benefits averaged $10.71 per case compared with $43.52 in Massachusetts.

The rise in the average benefit which began during the latter part of 1936 is accounted for not so much by a rise in standards as by a stabilization in the relief case load, with fewer cases receiving benefits for only part of a month.

The average benefit data conceal wide differences in the amounts extended to relief cases of different sizes. In May 1934 the average benefit per family case was almost three times the average benefit per nonfamily case; by December 1935 it was not quite double the amount for single persons. Analysis of relief benefits in sample urban and rural areas indicates that the average benefit increases progressively with the size of the relief case. After July 1933 the trend in the size of the case and the number of persons per family case was downward, while the percent of nonfamily cases increased enormously. This last characteristic became particularly pronounced after the transfer of heads of households, and consequently family cases, to the Works Program in the latter part of 1935.

With the smaller benefits going to the smaller cases, this trend in size of case contributed toward the lowering of the average benefit. On the other hand, other factors were operating simultaneously to increase the actual amount of relief to a given case and thus counteract to some extent the effect of the trend in the size of case.

A combination of work and direct relief, extended either concurrently or successively to a relief case during a given month, was quite common under the FERA. Comparisons for urban and rural sample areas of average benefits for cases receiving direct relief only and cases receiving work relief only reveal a marked disparity in size, with the average benefits for work-relief cases distinctly higher. Factors probably contributing to the difference were the more frequent use of direct relief to pay supplementary benefits to persons with other income and the larger size and greater budgetary needs of work-relief cases.

Certain technical factors also influenced the size of the average benefit under the FERA but had no effect on the adequacy of relief extended to cases. Thus, a rapid expansion or contraction of relief operations normally resulted in a large proportion of partial-month benefits. Transfers to the Works Program and the Social Security program within a calendar month were important causes of partial-month benefits. The nearer the end of a month that a large number was admitted to the rolls, or the nearer the beginning that a large number was dropped from the rolls, the greater was the effect in the lowering of the average benefit for the month. The number of pay-roll periods ending within various calendar months must also be considered as contributory to changes in averages.

Chapter I

PROCEDURE FOR ADMINISTERING RELIEF

AN UNDERSTANDING of average relief benefits requires some consideration of the manner in which legislation and administrative rulings influenced relief practices in the States and localities. Not only did such policies affect the aggregate amount of funds available for distribution to individual relief cases, but they affected also the proportionate expenditure for the various items of the relief budget. Since the average benefit is expressed in terms of money rather than goods, variation in the methods of calculating the value of goods renders comparison of real benefits received difficult. Money differences in amount of relief extended may merely indicate a difference in policy regarding the formation of the budget.

EXTENT OF FEDERAL INFLUENCE ON STATE POLICIES

By substituting outright grants of Federal funds for the loans previously authorized through the Emergency Relief Division of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation,[1] the Federal Emergency Relief Act of 1933 laid the basis for more effective Federal guidance of State practices and procedures in expending relief funds.

Control over Federal funds granted to the States rested with the States, but the FERA theoretically could require minimum standards as a condition to Federal aid, and through its control over future allotments could exercise considerable influence over State relief practices. The duty of the FERA to concern itself with the adequacy of

[1] Authorized under the Emergency Relief and Construction Act of 1932, Title 1, Public No. 302, 72d Cong., approved July 21, 1932. Repayment of these RFC advances to States was in effect waived by Congress, Public No. 393, 73d Cong., approved June 18, 1934.

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relief is clearly set forth in those sections of the act defining the scope of Federal aid and the steps to be followed in approving or denying State applications for grants. The general requirements set forth in the act were interpreted and supplemented by rules and regulations relating to relief policies, procedures, and standards.[2] In addition to the formal rulings, frequent communications of an advisory nature were sent to the State administrations. Since they were not mandatory, it is not possible to ascertain the extent of State compliance with these recommendations or of their influence in encouraging uniformity in practice. The same high degree of autonomy that was left to the States with regard to relief standards was in many instances extended by the States to their component county units. Hence the actual basis of relief operations within the local areas could be determined only by detailed inspection of both State and local programs as they were conceived and administered.

To a certain extent the size of allotments made by the FERA might influence the amount of the average relief benefit in a given State, but there were so many other elements in the situation that a direct relationship is difficult to trace. Probably the greatest influence of the Federal Government was achieved through cooperative relationships with the States made by regional social service workers and other representatives of the FERA. It was possible by means of these contacts to encourage the raising of standards.

THE MEANING OF BUDGETARY DEFICIENCY

From the beginning of the FERA program it was an established policy that relief need was to be measured by budgetary deficiency—that is, the relief allowance or work-relief wage was to be sufficient to supply such portion of the estimated weekly or monthly needs as could not be provided from the resources of the individual or family. Estimates of family resources, to be balanced against the estimates of need in determining the relief allowance, were to include wages or other cash income, produce of farm or garden, and all other resources.

The Federal Administration made no attempt to superimpose a standard uniform budget for use by the States but indicated that budget estimates should include "an allowance for food sufficient to maintain physical well-being, for shelter, the provision of fuel for cooking and for warmth when necessary, medical care and other necessities."[3]

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[2] FERA Rules and Regulations, Nos. 1 to 8, inclusive, issued June 23, 1933, July 1, 1933, July 11, 1933, July 21, 1933 (Nos. 4 and 5), August 11, 1933, September 10, 1933, and November 6, 1933, respectively

[3] FERA Rules and Regulations, No. 3, issued July 11, 1933.

In actual practice budget estimates served to suggest desirable rather than attainable standards in many instances. Benefits were scaled down proportionately in accordance with available funds.

COMPONENT PARTS OF THE BUDGET [4]

Food was the essential item in most relief budgets, and it was, in some localities, the only type of relief regularly extended. According to Federal policy, food allowances were to be determined in accordance with standard food schedules set up by nutrition experts.[5] While food was more adequately provided for than any other item of the relief budget, practice varied widely among localities regarding such items as milk, fruit, and vegetables, and in the flexibility of the budget to meet special needs of the relief case.

Modifications of food budgets frequently provided extra allowances for persons living alone, for pregnant women, for persons needing special diets, for adults engaged in hard manual labor, and for persons in need of extra nourishment for other reasons. Sometimes cases were opened merely to give special types of protective foods.

The monetary amount recorded by the relief agency for food was not necessarily an accurate measure of the total volume of food received by the case. The cost of food distributed by means of orders cashed at retail stores may have been greater in some instances than the cost of the same quantity purchased in wholesale lots and distributed from a commissary.

Commodities distributed by the Federal Surplus Commodities Corporation and commodities produced on work projects were added resources, representing significant amounts which did not enter into the calculation of the average relief benefits. Such items were intended to be supplied over and above the regular budgets provided by the relief administration, but it is probable that the availability of these commodities was taken into consideration in many localities in determining the amount of the budgets. The commodities distributed included large quantities of meat, cereals, dairy products, sugar, fruits, and vegetables. Clothing and house furnishings were also distributed.

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[4] For a more detailed description of family relief budgets, with reference to practices in individual States, see Nicol, Mary A., "Family Relief Budgets," *Monthly Report of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, June 1 Through June 30, 1936*, Federal Emergency Relief Administration, Washington, D. C., 1937, pp. 140–165.

[5] Permission was given to the various State Emergency Relief Administrations to interpret this broadly and to include feed for domestic livestock and seed for gardens when such items might contribute to make families partially self-sustaining.

In rural areas a large proportion of all food needs during the summer was often secured through home garden and canning programs, a procedure which reduced the amount of relief extended but not the value of goods received by the relief cases.

In many relief budgets clothing was a marginal item, supplied only if additional funds were available after food and other necessities had been provided. Many relief organizations issued clothing only during winter months or made occasional allowances to meet unusual emergency needs. Other agencies included a small but regular allowance for clothes, based on the size and composition of the relief case.

The manner in which clothing was secured affected the relative importance of this item in the records. It was purchased with relief funds, received as surplus commodities, produced on work-relief projects, or contributed by groups or individuals. Sometimes with the reduction of funds available for relief, clothing expenditures were drastically cut and local campaigns initiated to secure private donations.

Policies toward rent and shelter allowances were perhaps more diverse than those governing any other part of the emergency relief budgets. The FERA Rules and Regulations [6] authorized use of Federal funds to pay current rent or its equivalent "when necessary." Many States and localities did not provide relief cases with funds to cover rent, but they encouraged them to obtain shelter without cost by doing maintenance or repair work, or to pay for shelter from occasional casual earnings. Evictions of relief families were common occurrences in many localities, particularly during the early months of the program. Some agencies undertook to pay the first month's rent in new quarters for families actually evicted, or to forestall, by paying some portion of the current rent, the eviction of other families receiving notice of impending action.

Recognition of the need for shelter allowances became more general as the relief program continued. In many cities a regular rent item was incorporated in the relief budget, with the allowances adjusted for different-priced rent areas and in accord with the number of rooms occupied, and the light, heat, or furnishings supplied by the landlord. Relief families owning their own homes were in some localities allowed taxes and interest on mortgages in lieu of rent. The FERA regulations limited such allowances to amounts not in excess of minimum rent allowances and strictly forbade payments that might serve to increase an owner's equity in his property.

Fuel for cooking and heating, light, and water were recognized as legitimate items in emergency relief budgets, particularly in urban areas, although they were not regularly provided for by many relief administrations. The practice of providing relief orders or cash

[6] FERA Rules and Regulations, No. 3, issued July 11, 1933.

allowances for these utilities became more general as the FERA program developed. Where formal budgets were in use, these allowances were frequently regulated, within a maximum allowance, by such factors as the number of rooms occupied, the type of fuel used, the number of persons in the family, and the season of the year.

Fuel was obtained from various sources. Prior to March 1934 large quantities of coal were distributed by the Federal Surplus Relief Corporation, later known as the Federal Surplus Commodities Corporation. When this agency ceased to distribute coal, average relief benefits in certain cities increased noticeably. In areas where wood was used, fuel could often be secured without cost or through work-relief projects. It was seldom an important factor in expenditures for rural cases.

Separate allowances for essential household supplies were authorized under FERA policy regulations but were not always provided. Where given regularly, they were set either at a small constant amount or determined in accordance with the size of the case or as a specified percentage of the total estimated budget.

Federal regulations governing medical attendance and care under the emergency relief program were set forth in more detail than those for any other item in the relief budget.[7] Authorization for use of Federal funds was ordinarily limited to treatment of conditions causing acute pain, interfering with earning capacity, endangering life, or threatening some new permanent handicap. Medical attendance in the home was permitted, with necessary bedside nursing and emergency dental care, but no authorization was made for expending Federal funds for hospitalization or surgical operations for relief cases.

Practices regarding medical and dental care illustrate the variations that occurred in the reporting of the same budget item. In some areas no medical facilities were available to families on relief and no medical aid was given. In others there were no public medical facilities, but the relief administration assumed responsibility for carrying on a comprehensive program of medical care. In still others there were public health agencies to which all relief cases were referred. It would seem that obligations incurred for medical service reflect, to a large extent, the presence or absence in a locality of established public or private clinical service rather than differences in relief standards or the adequacy of facilities and care provided for the relief case.

MEASUREMENT OF BUDGETARY ITEMS

No satisfactory records of the relative amounts of relief extended for food, shelter, clothing, and other items of the budget are available for different areas and for different stages of the relief program. For

[7] FERA Rules and Regulations, No. 7, issued September 10, 1933.

relief extended in kind, reports include a distribution by budgetary item, but when relief covering the same budgetary items was given in cash, either in the form of work or direct relief, it was not considered feasible to report the budgetary items. Table 1, showing the percent distribution of relief in kind, by budgetary item, indicates that food and household necessities, and shelter were by far the most important items of relief extended in kind. Clothing and fuel show a distinct seasonal trend, while medical care gradually increased in relative importance during the period covered.[8]

Table 1.—Percent Distribution of Emergency Relief in Kind Extended to Cases,[1] by Budgetary Item, May 1934–June 1935

[Continental United States]

Year and month	Total	Food and household necessities	Shelter	Clothing	Fuel	Public utility services	Medical care	Seed for subsistence crops	Feed for livestock	All other
1934										
May	100.0	70.9	9.6	4.4	2.6	0.4	3.7	1.6	3.7	3.1
June	100.0	66.5	11.5	5.7	1.8	0.8	3.9	2.0	4.5	3.3
July	100.0	68.3	12.4	4.9	1.1	0.9	4.2	1.8	3.2	3.2
August	100.0	69.1	12.0	6.2	1.2	0.7	4.3	0.6	3.0	2.9
September	100.0	65.9	12.0	8.9	2.3	0.7	4.6	0.5	1.5	3.6
October	100.0	62.8	11.6	8.6	6.8	0.5	4.6	0.3	1.3	3.5
November	100.0	56.8	11.9	9.8	11.2	0.6	4.4	0.4	1.5	3.4
December	100.0	53.5	12.1	11.0	14.1	0.6	4.4	0.2	1.6	2.5
1935										
January	100.0	53.8	12.8	8.6	15.6	0.6	4.8	0.2	1.1	2.5
February	100.0	53.3	14.1	9.1	13.6	0.7	5.2	0.2	1.0	2.8
March	100.0	56.4	14.2	8.1	11.6	0.7	5.6	0.8	0.8	1.8
April	100.0	59.0	14.2	8.1	7.6	0.9	6.5	0.9	0.7	2.1
May	100.0	68.1	10.0	6.8	3.2	0.8	7.3	0.8	0.3	2.7
June	100.0	67.8	12.3	6.8	2.0	0.9	6.9	0.4	0.1	2.8

[1] Includes all relief in kind extended to cases under the general relief and special programs of the FERA with the exception of capital goods advanced to rural rehabilitation cases.

Source: Data reported to the FERA by State Emergency Relief Administrations.

BENEFITS IN CASH AND IN KIND

Distribution of relief in kind was commonly made through relief orders on local merchants, landlords, and others supplying goods or services to relief cases. In some instances commodities were issued from a central warehouse or commissary where relief families were required to present their orders.

The gradual trend away from the market basket and the commissary forms of relief toward cash benefits and work-relief wages was reflected in rising average benefits per case. During May 1934 cash

[8] All of the above items in the relief budget varied from case to case and from district to district. Only those items to which a cash value was assigned entered into the composition of the average benefit. The value of commodities actually received was sometimes greater than this, and some items could not be expressed in monetary terms.

relief constituted somewhat less than half of the total amount of relief extended in the continental United States. By the middle of 1935 the proportion of cash relief had increased to more than two-thirds of the total amount, but with the contraction of the Emergency Work Relief Program the amount issued in cash declined, reaching 46 percent in December. In spite of this fact a fundamental change had occurred. Nearly all of the work-relief earnings were given in cash throughout the period, but the portion of direct relief given in cash increased from 9 percent in May 1934 to about 40 percent in the middle of 1935, and it continued to expand in the last half of that year. These changes are clearly evident in table 2.

The States differed widely in the proportion of cash relief (appendix table 1). During the first half of 1935, for which the distribution is shown graphically in figure 1, 16 States and the District of Columbia extended more than three-fourths of their general relief in the form of cash. These 16 States were West Virginia, with more than 95 percent cash relief during this period, Louisiana, Oklahoma, South Dakota, Kansas, California, Nevada, Massachusetts, Florida, Alabama, Virginia, Maryland, Rhode Island, Georgia, Vermont, and Idaho. With the exception of Maryland, these jurisdictions show also

Table 2.—Amount of General Relief Extended to Cases as Direct Relief and as Work Relief, by Percent in Cash and in Kind, May 1934–December 1935

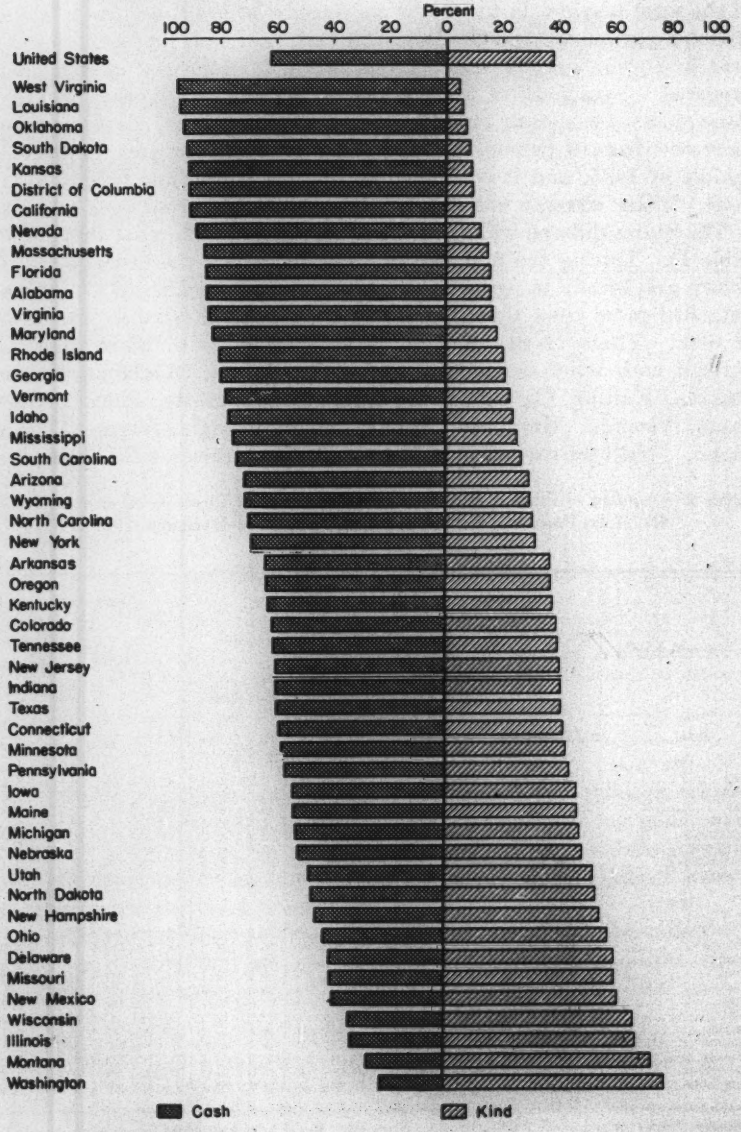
[Continental United States]

Year and month	Total			Direct relief			Work relief		
	Amount	Percent		Amount	Percent		Amount	Percent	
		In cash	In kind		In cash	In kind		In cash	In kind
Total	$2,225,484,738	58.6	41.4	$1,293,452,145	30.4	69.6	$932,032,593	97.8	2.2
1934									
May	97,697,693	46.3	53.7	55,035,989	9.2	90.8	42,661,704	94.1	5.9
June	93,543,902	50.4	49.6	51,151,003	13.5	86.5	42,392,899	95.0	5.0
July	97,569,188	54.2	45.8	50,238,268	15.1	84.9	47,310,920	95.7	4.3
August	100,515,698	56.2	43.8	54,640,651	15.5	84.5	54,875,037	96.8	3.2
September	103,412,842	57.0	43.0	53,009,147	18.8	81.2	50,403,695	97.2	2.8
October	113,640,296	56.5	43.5	59,643,160	19.6	80.4	53,997,136	97.3	2.7
November	126,282,558	59.7	40.3	63,259,439	22.1	77.9	63,023,119	97.4	2.6
December	139,588,923	57.9	42.1	71,566,867	23.5	76.5	62,022,056	97.6	2.4
1935									
January	148,431,153	60.0	40.0	77,600,156	25.2	74.8	70,830,997	98.0	2.0
February	135,659,614	59.3	40.7	72,860,945	25.8	74.2	62,798,669	98.3	1.7
March	137,330,019	59.0	41.0	75,527,359	26.8	73.2	61,802,660	98.4	1.6
April	133,301,864	62.1	37.9	72,021,381	30.9	69.1	61,280,483	98.8	1.2
May	130,599,293	68.3	31.7	67,107,094	39.3	60.7	63,492,199	98.9	1.1
June	117,064,738	67.1	32.9	62,735,584	39.3	60.7	54,329,154	99.2	0.8
July	118,813,438	68.6	31.4	65,719,001	43.8	56.2	53,094,437	99.3	0.7
August	110,380,013	64.1	35.9	71,425,445	45.0	55.0	38,954,568	99.3	0.7
September	92,889,171	57.6	42.4	71,721,083	45.4	54.6	21,148,088	99.4	0.6
October	95,017,369	53.9	46.1	77,242,488	43.5	56.5	17,774,881	99.0	1.0
November	75,868,421	50.2	49.8	67,612,621	44.3	55.7	8,255,800	98.5	1.5
December	54,868,545	46.1	53.9	53,314,454	44.6	55.4	1,554,091	96.8	3.2

Source: Data reported to the FERA by State Emergency Relief Administrations.

Fig 1 – PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF GENERAL RELIEF BENEFITS IN CASH AND IN KIND, BY STATE

January – June 1935



Source: Appendix table I.

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a high proportion of work-relief cases during this period (appendix table 8). The one State, Washington, which distributed less than one-fourth of its total general relief in the form of cash during this period, showed a correspondingly low percentage of work-relief cases. Work-relief earnings were nearly always paid in cash.

Chapter II

VARIATIONS IN AVERAGE MONTHLY RELIEF BENEFITS, 1933–1938

AVERAGE RELIEF benefits are derived from data showing the total amount of general relief extended to cases and the total number of cases receiving this relief. All the component parts of the budget provided through Federal, State, or local funds, whether in the form of cash or in kind, are included in the data on relief extended to cases. Work-relief earnings of certified relief persons enter into the total, but not the amount of nonrelief earnings, the cost of materials, supplies and equipment, or administrative expense. As calculated on this basis, average relief benefits represent a very generalized measure of aid received. Later chapters will isolate certain variable factors and show how they influence the elements which enter into the national and State averages presented in this chapter.

CHANGES IN LEVEL OF BENEFITS IN THE UNITED STATES

More liberal relief attitudes and more adequate relief funds contributed to a gradual rise in the level of relief benefits during the first months of the FERA program. The trend of average benefits for the continental United States continued upward, with a brief interruption during the winter of 1933–34, until January 1935, the peak of the emergency relief operations. During the subsequent months average benefits moved to a somewhat lower level, and they gradually declined after the initiation of the Works Program in July 1935 and the withdrawal of the Federal Government from general relief during the second half of 1935.

During 1936 and 1937 the average benefits remained at about the same low level, but there was a slight increase toward the end of each

year. Average monthly benefits per case for the continental United States from January 1933 through June 1938 are shown in table 3 and figure 2.

Table 3.—Average Monthly General Relief Benefit per Case, January 1933–June 1938 [1]

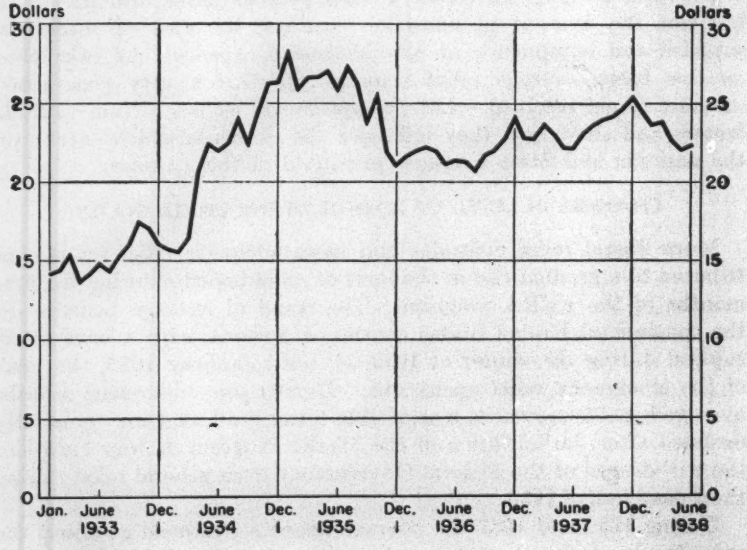
[Continental United States]

Month	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938
January	$14.17	$15.71	$28.13	$21.62	$22.80	$24.51
February	14.41	15.54	25.89	21.94	22.75	23.65
March	15.35	16.45	26.55	22.17	23.63	23.81
April	13.65	20.61	26.59	21.94	23.06	22.65
May	14.13	22.40	26.97	21.11	22.14	22.02
June	14.77	21.93	25.82	21.34	22.10	22.30
July	14.36	22.40	27.23	21.23	23.08	
August	15.27	23.94	26.16	20.70	23.57	
September	16.04	22.39	23.75	21.63	23.94	
October	17.44	24.45	25.52	22.00	24.19	
November	17.07	26.20	21.91	22.72	24.84	
December	16.06	26.31	21.04	24.07	25.36	

[1] Averages for January through June 1933 and those for months subsequent to December 1935 are based on data which are partially estimated.

Source: Figures for 1933, 1934, and 1935 were reported to the FERA by State Emergency Relief Administrations; those for January 1936 through March 1937 were partially estimated by the Works Progress Administration, and those for subsequent months were partially estimated by the Social Security Board.

Fig. 2 – AVERAGE MONTHLY GENERAL RELIEF BENEFIT PER CASE
CONTINENTAL UNITED STATES
January 1933 – June 1938



Source: Table 3.

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The rise in average benefits during the latter part of 1933 obviously reflects a real improvement in relief standards under the stimulus of Federal participation and support. The slight drop in the average relief benefit in November 1933, at a time when one might have expected a sharp increase in response to seasonal needs for additional clothing and fuel allowances, was largely induced by the extensive transfer of relief cases to the Civil Works Program, which was inaugurated in that month. The consequent increased proportion of cases receiving relief for only part of the month caused a marked decline in the average monthly benefit, despite the fact that standards of care for those remaining on the relief rolls may have continued to improve. The transfer of relief cases back to the relief rolls during the liquidation of the short-lived Civil Works Program resulted in a continued large proportion of partial-month benefits during the spring of 1934, thus keeping the average relief benefit at a low level.

The Civil Works Program was succeeded by the Emergency Work Relief Program of the FERA. This program brought with it an increase in the proportion of cash relief and a general rise in the level of relief benefits for those employed on work-relief projects. The seasonal rise in relief allowances at the beginning of the following winter helped to carry the average benefit for the total United States to its highest point in January 1935.

The gradual reduction in the volume of Federal aid for general relief that followed the organization of the Works Progress Administration and the initiation of the Works Program, and the anticipated withdrawal of Federal assistance, led to a curtailment of relief budgets in many localities, which doubtless contributed to the decline in average relief benefits during the latter months of 1935.[1] But the pronounced drop in the average benefit figures for this period is due in large part to the influence of three administrative factors connected with the transfer of employable persons from the general relief rolls to Works Program projects, which are discussed below.

Beginning with August 1935 work-relief cases were being drained from the relief rolls in proportionately greater numbers than were direct-relief cases. Since average amounts of work relief per case were consistently higher than average amounts of direct relief per case,[2] this tendency made for a lower average relief benefit.

At the same time the transfer of cases with employable members to the Works Progress Administration and related agencies tended

[1] The average benefit data do not reflect the decline in relief standards brought about by the complete discontinuance of all relief, with the possible exception of surplus commodities, for large groups of cases or in entire areas. This happened most frequently in previously low-standard areas, with a possible result, hypothetically at least, of raising the average benefit.

[2] See table 20, p. 45.

toward the withdrawal of large families in relatively greater numbers than small families. The large families had been entitled on the basis of budget needs to larger relief benefits. This tendency, combined with the transfer of work-relief cases, led to a decline in the calculated average benefit which did not signify a decline in relief standards and did not affect the allowances paid to cases remaining on the general relief rolls.

Perhaps the most important administrative factor leading to a reduction in the size of the average monthly benefit was the unusually large number of partial-month benefits given during these months to persons in process of transfer to the Works Program. An administrative order, issued August 27, 1935,[3] urged all Emergency Relief Administrations to furnish relief allowances to such cases for a sufficient period to maintain them until they received their first pay check under the new program. Since these checks were usually issued every 2 weeks, this meant that relief benefits were continued for only a part of a month. This process of transferring cases to the new program continued in the various States over a period of several months, and during this time partial-month benefits tended to reduce the size of the average benefit.

After the Works Program reached its maximum employment early in 1936, transfers to this program were of diminishing importance. However, new factors arose to hold the average at about the same level until the fall of 1936. The first factor was another type of transfer which began in February 1936 when the public-assistance program of the Social Security Board was inaugurated. Large numbers of general relief cases qualified for old-age assistance, aid to the blind, or aid to dependent children, and substantial transfers occurred in many States, especially during the first few months of 1936. The volume of partial-month benefits was increased during this period because of the policy in certain States of accepting applicants for general relief, temporarily, pending determination of their eligibility for special forms of assistance. Cases sometimes continued to receive general relief as a supplement to public-assistance benefits.

Another group of factors, involving administrative and financial policies adopted by State and local governments in anticipation of, and after, the cessation of FERA grants for emergency relief, had a marked effect upon the size of the average benefit. Work-relief programs, with their higher standards of assistance, were almost completely abandoned. Relief cases that did not secure employment under WPA or other Federal agency projects or aid under provisions of the Social Security Act were left without regular Federal aid. Low relief standards were inevitable in some States where the rapid ex-

[3] Order A-95 in the coded series of communications.

haustion of funds caused responsibility for families formerly receiving emergency relief to be delegated to the local poor authorities. In many localities these agencies were unable to meet the added financial burden. Drastic reductions in the relief rolls and smaller benefits for those remaining resulted. Variations in the amount of available relief funds frequently caused sudden changes in the size of the case load, with consequent increases in the proportion of partial-month benefits.

In September 1936 the level of average benefits commenced to rise and reached a maximum for the year in December. Throughout 1937 the average for each month was higher than the average for the corresponding month of 1936. Average relief benefits per case rose steadily from June 1937 to the end of the year.

Various reasons can be given for this rise. A chief factor, probably, was the greater stability in the case load. The decline in the rate of turnover of relief cases, brought about in part by the removal of employable cases to the Works Program, caused a smaller proportion of partial-month benefits and hence led to a rise in average benefits. Transfers to other relief programs were not so important since the public-assistance program of the Social Security Board had passed the point of initial rapid increase, and WPA employment, after a decline in June and July, remained relatively stable through November. State policies in regard to general relief were becoming more definitely formulated, and changes in the size of the relief load were not so abrupt.

Some States and localities were able to provide more adequate relief funds and consequently were in a position to give larger relief allowances to compensate for rising costs of food and shelter. There was also a decline in cases receiving general relief in supplementation of income from other sources. Part of the rise in the average benefit for the United States as a whole may have been due to the fact that an increasing portion of the total number of relief cases was to be found in States which ordinarily extend relatively high average benefits.

The tendency toward a higher level of relief benefits was reversed in 1938. During the first 5 months of this year the average benefit declined almost uninterruptedly (table 3).[4] The decline in the average benefit per case during the early months of 1938 occurred despite a rise in the relative number of family cases receiving general relief. A variety of influences was responsible for this decline in the average relief benefit. WPA employment was expanded rapidly to

[4] The average amount of general relief per case rose slightly between February and March. However, a decline between those months would result if an adjustment were made for the length of the month of March.

meet the emergency caused by the business recession. A substantial portion of the additional relief load assumed by State and local relief agencies was taken over by the WPA. Because of the large-scale assignment of general relief cases to WPA projects the relative number of cases receiving relief during only a part of the month increased substantially. Another factor of importance was the initiation of benefit payments under unemployment compensation programs in 23 States by the end of January. This, too, contributed to the rise in the rate of case turnover with a consequent decrease in the average amount of relief per case. There is also evidence that unemployment compensation benefits in many instances did not fully meet the budgetary needs of the unemployed, and this caused an increase in the number of cases receiving supplementary relief. The need for relief supplementation also rose with the shifts from full- to part-time employment which occurred in private industry during the recession. While this set of factors tended to reduce the computed average, it did not directly influence average relief standards.

The growing financial difficulties of many State and local relief agencies had a more immediate effect on standards. This is particularly true of a great many municipalities of the Middle West where the rise in relief needs as a result of the recession was most pronounced. Since city budgets for 1938 were generally prepared in 1937 they did not allow for rapidly rising relief costs. The relief situation in these areas was further aggravated by a steady decline in revenues and by the difficulties, due to statutory and constitutional restrictions, of obtaining additional revenue. As conditions in certain of these areas grew progressively worse, the curtailment of relief allowances assumed drastic proportions. Finally, the seasonal decline in needs for fuel, clothing, and medical care during the spring permitted the reduction of relief budgets in many sections of the country.

The decline in the average benefit per case was checked in June 1938. The turnover factor diminished in importance during the latter part of the year. There was an increase in some States in the relative number of workers assigned to WPA projects who did not receive general relief immediately before assignment. Also, the aggregate number of accessions and separations traceable to the operation of the unemployment compensation program undoubtedly declined with the gradual improvement in employment conditions.

STATE DIFFERENCES IN AVERAGE RELIEF BENEFITS

The national averages, because of their generalized character, conceal significant differences in the size of average benefits in the different States and local subdivisions. The averages for each com-

munity were influenced by State and local relief policies; the relative rates of turnover of the relief load, the prevailing standards and costs of living, the prevalence of supplementary resources (such as home gardens, opportunities for casual, seasonal, or part-time employment), and other relevant factors—including the availability of relief funds. In the absence of detailed information on these subjects, it is impossible to evaluate the geographic differences in average benefits in terms of the relative adequacy of relief in the various areas, with respect to either what relief cases actually received or what the State or community might reasonably have provided.

Nevertheless, the State averages are very useful for comparative purposes. Average monthly benefits per case in each of the 48 States and the District of Columbia at quarterly intervals from July 1933 through October 1935 are shown in table 4. While these State averages are not, by themselves, reliable indexes of relief standards in the different areas, they afford a far more realistic picture of relief benefits during the FERA period than do the averages for the total continental United States. They suggest the decentralized nature of the emergency relief program and demonstrate the absence of any uniform national standard of relief payments.

The present discussion seeks to establish the extent of variation underlying the national relief averages, without attempting to ascertain the influence of the various factors affecting individual State averages. Appendix tables 2 and 3 are presented for those who wish to attempt qualitative comparisons and interpretation of the averages, based on a knowledge of State and local conditions affecting relief standards. The appendix also includes certain State data on amounts of relief issued in cash and in kind, the relative number of work-relief cases, and the average number of persons per case, which to some extent aid in explaining differences in the average amounts extended (appendix tables 1, 6, and 8).

Variation in State Averages

Extreme variation is perhaps the most significant characteristic of the State averages. In January 1935 when the national average benefit per case was at its highest level of $28.13, State average benefits per case ranged from a low of $10.71 in South Carolina to a high of $43.52 in Massachusetts. Figure 3 shows both the relative and absolute position of the States, arrayed by size of average monthly benefits per family case [5] receiving general relief, at five half-yearly intervals beginning with July 1933.

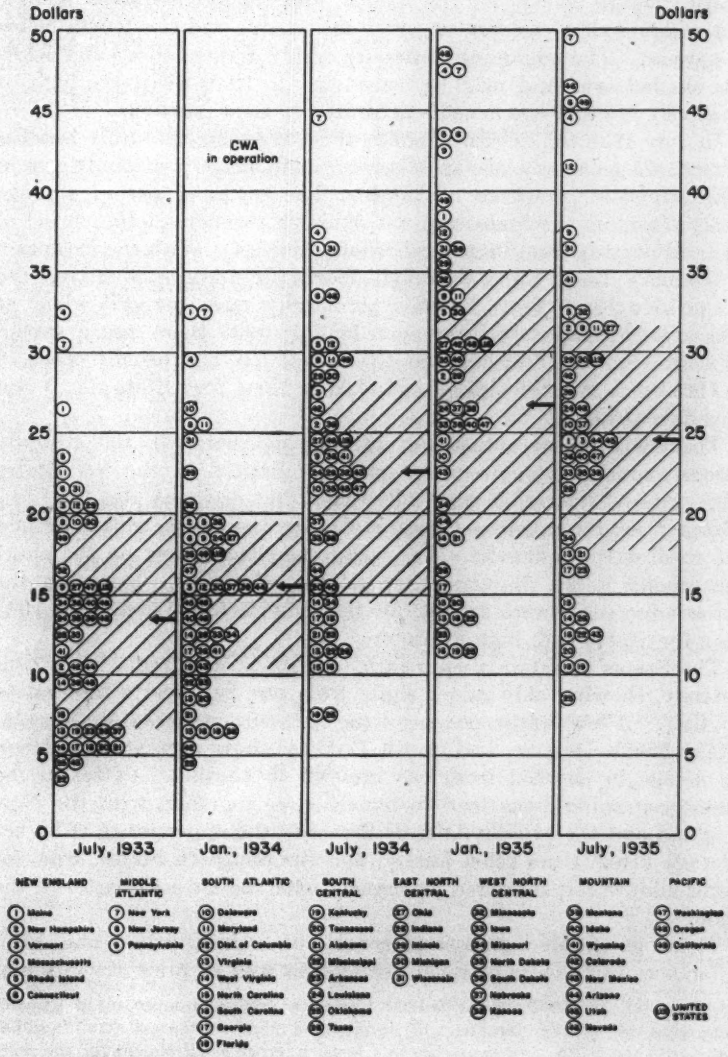
[5] The comparison of the average benefit per family case has been given in preference to the per-case averages in order to eliminate the influence of benefits to nonfamily cases.

Table 4.—Average General Relief Benefit per Case, by State, Selected Months, July 1933–October 1935

Region and State	July 1933	October 1933	January 1934	April 1934	July 1934	October 1934	January 1935	April 1935	July 1935	October 1935
United States	$14.36	$17.44	$15.71	$20.61	$22.40	$24.45	$28.13	$26.59	$27.23	$25.52
New England:										
Maine	24.87	25.68	30.10	35.45	34.15	37.03	35.71	29.84	23.79	25.14
New Hampshire	10.06	15.59	18.73	23.86	23.72	30.88	25.52	31.04	28.35	28.97
Vermont	20.26	20.54	15.00	22.10	24.09	25.83	28.05	27.21	21.57	15.77
Massachusetts	29.34	28.00	26.66	31.69	34.43	36.95	43.52	41.00	40.82	42.86
Rhode Island	22.43	25.25	18.33	28.91	28.75	28.95	39.90	31.47	29.58	33.17
Connecticut	20.49	23.00	17.57	25.85	30.75	32.98	40.12	41.05	42.25	40.02
Middle Atlantic:										
New York	29.68	35.72	29.32	38.59	41.61	42.64	42.93	41.13	43.47	37.13
New Jersey	18.83	22.24	23.03	28.54	27.97	32.87	30.04	28.21	28.65	29.01
Pennsylvania	15.36	17.66	18.74	27.97	23.29	26.13	37.92	35.51	33.42	32.26
East North Central:										
Ohio	14.67	17.80	15.86	20.01	20.78	20.95	26.54	22.98	26.74	19.05
Indiana	11.85	14.38	11.45	14.93	20.92	25.27	26.21	25.36	19.92	14.11
Illinois	19.09	24.33	20.10	20.58	26.40	27.02	33.24	29.34	28.92	27.03
Michigan	18.20	22.08	14.54	19.88	25.67	29.06	29.82	26.52	26.54	27.32
Wisconsin	19.38	20.81	19.77	18.27	31.60	33.35	31.92	29.95	30.09	25.84
West North Central:										
Minnesota	15.26	18.43	17.94	16.53	21.06	27.23	31.93	28.74	28.59	26.97
Iowa	12.53	15.91	11.86	12.76	17.61	20.11	23.98	21.84	21.19	24.15
Missouri	13.20	12.68	11.46	13.29	12.78	15.52	18.95	17.18	17.23	15.88
North Dakota	13.33	15.69	16.55	24.47	20.67	26.89	28.03	27.65	21.73	24.47
South Dakota	13.84	17.73	17.60	13.67	22.22	26.94	24.00	21.70	22.06	22.59
Nebraska	6.67	12.29	14.02	19.66	17.13	21.04	24.23	24.25	22.28	24.15
Kansas	8.94	10.81	10.15	13.65	17.39	18.53	25.23	21.86	20.48	20.18
South Atlantic:										
Delaware	18.69	18.75	23.13	7.28	19.62	21.10	21.19	17.92	22.16	19.65
Maryland	22.07	29.75	23.81	24.12	26.75	29.87	30.59	27.47	28.80	27.82
District of Columbia	18.95	19.29	12.95	29.36	24.14	29.05	30.43	27.54	33.08	33.21
Virginia	6.72	8.31	8.10	5.48	10.83	11.80	13.59	16.34	17.15	15.95
West Virginia	8.94	12.37	11.28	14.07	14.36	15.66	17.98	15.08	12.79	14.44
North Carolina	7.29	8.41	6.67	7.94	10.02	11.32	14.55	13.62	14.14	14.29
South Carolina	5.32	9.89	5.91	10.85	10.02	12.47	10.71	8.92	11.91	8.24
Georgia	5.48	12.62	11.12	12.08	12.57	13.10	14.62	16.25	16.16	19.13
Florida	5.44	10.82	6.11	17.84	13.09	14.00	13.48	12.94	10.08	10.17
East South Central:										
Kentucky	6.55	7.07	10.23	6.27	7.68	9.55	11.04	10.75	10.01	9.70
Tennessee	5.71	8.41	8.49	6.30	15.32	8.90	14.51	16.53	11.56	9.39
Alabama	5.03	9.84	7.75	8.56	12.39	12.80	17.33	16.69	17.06	15.37
Mississippi	3.83	7.28	8.68	8.80	10.45	9.44	12.83	12.16	12.19	13.34
West South Central:										
Arkansas	6.05	8.65	8.63	4.65	12.23	15.68	12.33	13.24	15.65	12.92
Louisiana	13.43	15.00	18.09	21.95	21.84	23.62	25.98	26.89	25.53	17.84
Oklahoma	4.23	5.80	4.64	8.05	7.23	10.16	10.98	7.38	8.67	10.20
Texas	6.59	8.04	6.31	7.41	10.53	12.55	16.17	13.88	13.06	10.51
Mountain:										
Montana	11.99	13.70	13.73	23.48	22.85	27.98	31.86	23.47	23.36	22.55
Idaho	13.23	11.08	12.53	14.37	13.99	22.70	23.10	19.05	21.51	20.49
Wyoming	9.07	11.28	10.46	19.93	22.38	34.08	22.55	20.78	30.63	17.30
Colorado	10.01	9.45	5.20	15.54	23.73	22.51	27.92	24.23	25.66	25.54
New Mexico	4.27	5.46	9.41	11.84	21.03	15.42	20.92	13.91	11.86	10.15
Arizona	9.67	12.89	14.10	14.79	15.16	17.97	17.99	21.71	22.25	21.26
Utah	9.34	13.64	13.50	15.81	19.56	27.40	27.07	24.38	21.89	21.04
Nevada	12.52	13.53	10.43	12.65	26.38	33.82	36.85	36.04	38.23	24.28
Pacific:										
Washington	13.96	14.85	14.40	14.94	18.43	16.81	21.94	20.35	20.32	21.88
Oregon	13.01	12.02	12.00	16.09	21.81	24.40	27.38	22.00	24.38	21.96
California	15.62	15.45	14.94	17.07	25.28	28.17	35.43	34.99	38.20	40.42

Source: Data reported to the FERA by State Emergency Relief Administrations.

Fig. 3 – AVERAGE MONTHLY GENERAL RELIEF BENEFIT PER FAMILY CASE, BY STATE, SELECTED MONTHS
July 1933 – July 1935



Note: Approximately one-half the States fall within the shaded area. The arrow indicates the median.

Source: Appendix table 3.

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Individual States are represented by numbered circles ranked according to the average relief benefit paid to relief families during the month indicated. The arrow in each column points to the median State average benefit for the month, and the shaded areas include the middle half of the States, one-fourth above and one-fourth below the arrow. The remaining States are evenly divided above and below the shaded area and may be considered to have relatively high or relatively low average benefits according to their positions.

In July 1933 the extremes in size of State average monthly benefits were $3.87 per family case in Mississippi and $32.27 per family case in Massachusetts, a spread of $28.40. The range in size of average benefits among the States did not diminish throughout the period of Federal participation in general relief activities. With the exception of January 1934, when the Civil Works Program was active,[6] the range in average State benefits per family case was still wider at subsequent half-yearly intervals. In July 1935 there was a spread of approximately $40 between the lowest average benefit of $8.79 in Oklahoma and the highest of $49.06 in New York State (fig. 3 and appendix table 3).

The chart shows a tendency to wide dispersion in the absolute amount of the averages which was not limited to the few States with unusually large or small allowances but occurred also for those States in the intermediate group, indicating less concentration around the median State benefit. The wider the shaded area on the chart the greater is the dispersion around the mid-point. However, the percent increases were greater for States with low averages in 1933 than for States with high averages.

The States maintain their relative positions with remarkable consistency, showing only minor shifts from one half-yearly interval to another. A few States, notably some of the drought States, Nevada, Utah, North Dakota, and South Dakota, show a greater tendency to change in position from one interval to another. States in the same geographic areas tend to remain close together, with the New England and the Middle Atlantic States in the upper range of higher average benefits per relief family, and the Southern States, with far lower allowances, scattered principally over the lowest quarter of the scale.

These geographic groupings reflect, of course, urban and rural differences in the size of relief benefits, as well as prior standards of

[6] The Civil Works Program tended toward a relatively more rapid transfer from relief rolls of large families with employable members than of small families, just as did the WPA, and hence led to a lower average relief benefit for the cases remaining on relief. However, the continued participation of the Federal Government in direct relief during the period of the Civil Works Program probably caused the size of average benefits for the smaller relief cases remaining under care to remain fairly stable.

living—notoriously low, for example, for Negroes in the South. Radical differences in standards of relief by private and public agencies during previous years were likewise perpetuated to some extent. These standards were symptomatic of long-established social attitudes toward problems of destitution and relief, which were manifested in both policy and performance in the financing and administering of relief under the ERA program.

Trend of the Median State Average Benefit

Another method of measuring trends in relief levels is by locating the median State average relief benefit. As shown in figure 3 the median State average benefit per family case rose gradually from approximately $13 in July 1933 to about $27 in January 1935. By October 1935 the median State average benefit per family was reduced to almost $24, and it declined somewhat further during November and December, largely as a result of transfers of employables to WPA.

Table 5 indicates that the median State average benefit per case followed the same trend. It rose from about $21 in July 1934 to more than $25 in January 1935 and was back to the $21 level by the following October. It will be seen that the mean benefit, based on aggregate expenditures and aggregate case loads, is conspicuously higher than the median State benefit. The differential, ranging from less than $1 to more than $5, represents to a great extent the weighting of the averages by the few States having the largest case loads and relatively large relief allowances, notably New York, Illinois, and Pennsylvania.[7]

Table 5.—Mean and Median[1] Monthly General Relief Benefit per Case, Selected Months, 1934–1935

[Continental United States]

Year and month	Average benefit	
	Mean	Median[1]
1934		
July	22.40	20.92
October	24.45	23.62
1935		
January	28.13	25.52
April	26.59	22.98
July	27.23	22.16
October	25.52	21.26

[1] Median State average.

Source: Data reported to the FERA by State Emergency Relief Administrations.

[7] The median is, in some ways, a better measure of the central tendency among all States than is the mean, because it gives equal importance to administrative units rather than to population. Since State relief policies and fiscal considerations were very influential in determining the level of relief benefits, the State occupying a mid-point in the rank of averages during a given month is more likely to be a typical central measure of all units than is the mean.

COUNTY FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF AVERAGE BENEFITS

A frequency distribution of families according to the average amounts of relief received per month would be perhaps the best way of measuring relief benefits. Since such a distribution is not possible because of the lack of data, comparisons of the level of relief payments have been made on the basis of a frequency distribution of family case loads in some 3,000 political subdivisions in the United States, according to the average benefit prevailing in the political subdivision as a whole. The average monthly relief benefit per family has been computed for each of these 3,000 political subdivisions. For the most part a county was the unit chosen, but in a few instances the areas represented cities, apart from the counties in which they were located.

Table 6 shows, for most months of the period July 1933 through July 1935, the cumulative percent of relief families residing in counties with specified average relief benefits per family. In the last months of 1933 areas with average benefits of less than $10 contained more than 22 percent of all relief families in the United States, while in the first 7 months of 1935 the proportion living in such counties was less than 10 percent. On the other hand, areas with averages of $40 or more per month contained less than 2 percent of the families in 1933 and more than 19 percent in 1935, with a maximum of nearly 29 percent in January of that year.

The frequency distributions of relief benefits assume somewhat greater significance when they are broken down by geographic region. An examination of appendix table 4 will show the great differences that have existed in average amounts of relief extended in various areas of the United States. The agricultural areas of the South and Southwest show an entirely different frequency distribution from the industrial areas of the North and Middle West or the Mountain and Pacific Regions. Differences over a period of time in the national average represent changes in the proportion of relief cases in the various areas as well as changes in the level of relief benefits within these areas. A comparison of September 1933 with later months is presented in table 7.

In September 1933 more than half of the relief families in all but two of the nine regions were residing in counties with average monthly benefits of less than $20. By January 1935 there were only three regions with this low level of benefits.

No large proportion of Southern counties ever reached the $20 average, but there was a considerable elevation of standards within the prevailing lower level. If areas with averages of less than $10 are compared for September 1933 and January 1935, it will be found that in the East South Central Region this proportion declined from

Table 6.—Cumulative Percent of Family Cases Residing in Counties[1] With Specified Average Monthly General Relief Benefit, July 1933–July 1935

[Continental United States]

Year and month	Total[2]	Amount of general relief benefit																
		Less than $50	Less than $45	Less than $40	Less than $35	Less than $30	Less than $28	Less than $26	Less than $24	Less than $22	Less than $20	Less than $18	Less than $16	Less than $14	Less than $12	Less than $10	Less than $8	Less than $6
	Cumulative percent																	
1933																		
July	100.0	(3)	(3)	99.6	98.0	89.1	(3)	[4]84.5	(3)	(3)	75.7	69.8	64.4	54.2	45.9	37.5	29.6	19.7
August	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)
September	100.0	(3)	(3)	99.3	97.4	84.1	81.9	77.9	75.8	73.5	69.3	58.6	50.3	44.2	36.2	27.3	19.7	10.6
October	100.0	(3)	(3)	98.8	86.6	82.6	80.9	78.4	75.1	70.5	63.8	55.0	46.8	37.9	30.2	22.5	14.2	6.5
November	100.0	(3)	(3)	99.1	96.2	82.1	79.4	77.3	74.3	71.4	66.3	56.0	48.1	41.6	34.3	23.7	16.0	6.9
December	100.0	(3)	(3)	99.8	93.9	86.0	85.2	82.7	79.0	76.4	70.6	61.3	52.8	45.0	37.5	28.7	19.9	8.4
1934																		
January	100.0	(3)	(3)	95.8	94.8	89.1	87.3	85.5	83.2	77.9	71.9	67.0	59.6	48.5	41.6	33.0	21.3	11.0
February	100.0	(3)	(3)	95.3	94.5	89.8	87.8	85.2	81.7	75.0	68.3	62.4	56.7	49.5	42.4	33.5	24.2	12.2
March	100.0	(3)	(3)	94.9	93.4	88.0	85.1	83.8	80.2	78.0	69.5	64.6	55.9	49.4	41.3	31.5	21.4	11.2
April	100.0	(3)	(3)	90.4	87.9	77.0	74.7	72.4	68.1	59.5	52.7	47.2	39.4	33.5	28.0	21.5	13.3	7.2
May	100.0	(3)	(3)	87.8	79.5	68.0	64.9	61.7	54.2	47.6	43.7	38.9	34.1	27.9	20.9	15.5	8.6	3.9
June	100.0	(3)	(3)	88.8	80.7	76.0	69.5	61.8	56.3	49.2	43.1	37.5	32.8	26.9	20.4	13.9	8.9	4.2
July	100.0	(3)	(3)	88.1	84.0	68.4	63.2	58.4	51.5	45.6	40.7	36.1	32.0	25.9	18.9	13.9	8.6	3.2
August	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)
September	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)
October	100.0	96.6	89.1	84.7	75.8	61.5	54.2	49.8	45.6	40.6	36.6	31.9	26.7	21.1	16.4	10.5	5.4	1.2
November	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)
December	100.0	96.7	89.2	80.0	66.5	54.8	48.5	42.4	38.6	35.0	30.6	26.6	22.3	17.9	12.8	7.6	3.2	0.5
1935																		
January	100.0	90.4	81.1	71.3	62.3	49.4	45.0	39.8	36.0	31.9	27.7	22.9	19.4	15.1	10.8	6.2	2.2	0.2
February	100.0	97.5	88.9	76.6	66.3	54.6	49.1	45.7	40.4	35.6	30.8	26.6	22.1	18.1	13.5	9.2	3.9	0.8
March	100.0	98.7	88.4	76.6	66.6	54.6	47.6	43.3	39.3	33.5	28.8	24.9	20.3	16.9	13.0	8.3	4.0	1.2
April	100.0	98.1	87.4	77.7	65.2	53.9	49.7	44.0	38.4	33.6	28.1	24.2	20.6	16.2	11.5	7.4	3.8	0.8
May	100.0	89.2	82.7	74.6	68.6	56.8	51.5	47.1	41.7	32.2	28.4	24.4	20.3	14.8	9.5	4.1	1.4	0.3
June	100.0	98.7	87.9	80.8	66.6	56.6	49.4	45.4	40.7	35.1	30.6	26.2	21.9	18.0	12.7	6.5	1.9	0.5
July	100.0	99.1	90.0	80.5	68.2	56.4	51.7	47.2	42.7	36.7	31.9	27.4	22.9	18.5	13.8	8.9	3.4	0.7

[1] In a few instances the areas represent cities apart from the counties in which the cities are located.
[2] Includes small percent receiving $50 or more.
[3] Data not computed.
[4] Includes only those families living in counties in which the average was less than $25.
Source: Data reported to the FERA by State Emergency Relief Administrations.

53.1 to 25.2 percent; in the Southeastern, from 61.1 to 18.0 percent; and in the Southwestern, from 86.4 to 18.7 percent. It is evident that average benefits between $10 and $20 became much more prevalent in the Southern counties (appendix table 4).

Table 7.—Percent of Family Cases Residing in Counties With an Average Monthly General Relief Benefit of Less than $20, by Region, Selected Months, 1933–1935

Region	September 1933	June 1934	January 1935	June 1935
New England	11.6	0.5	0.3	0.0
Middle Atlantic	50.7	5.6	0.5	0.8
East Central	49.6	25.0	6.9	10.3
Mountain	98.2	35.9	11.6	17.8
Pacific	84.8	19.0	2.2	14.4
West Central	92.3	56.6	22.1	39.1
East South Central	96.3	93.7	83.1	89.8
Southeast	96.2	92.2	81.0	80.3
Southwest	99.9	97.2	86.0	95.8

Source: Data reported to the FERA by State Emergency Relief Administrations.

A similar increase is found in the proportion of average monthly benefits of $40 or more (table 8). Seasonal influences are more strongly reflected in these higher average benefits. In the Northern regions, with the exception of New England, there is no marked increase between June 1934 and June 1935, but January 1935 shows a much greater proportion of relief families residing in counties with average benefits of more than $40. Almost no counties in the entire South reached this level of benefits at any time.

Table 8.—Percent of Family Cases Residing in Counties With an Average Monthly General Relief Benefit of $40 or More, by Region, Selected Months, 1934–1935

Region	June 1934	January 1935	June 1935
New England	9.4	73.2	66.5
Middle Atlantic	38.2	63.3	38.8
East Central	2.1	31.1	3.5
Mountain	5.8	7.4	1.4
Pacific	0.1	27.1	61.0
West Central	0.5	7.4	0.1
East South Central	—	—	—
Southeast	—	—	—
Southwest	0.5	0.3	—

Source: Data reported to the FERA by State Emergency Relief Administrations.

URBAN AND RURAL AVERAGE RELIEF BENEFITS

While the State averages for relief benefits are interesting, and especially significant as far as they can be related to administrative policies of the several State organizations, there are important factors influencing the incidence of relief and the average size of benefits that bear no relationship to State lines. Prominent among these is the distinction between urban and rural communities.

The principle of budgetary deficiency as a measure of relief need embodied, among other considerations, a tacit recognition of existing differences in the costs and standards of living in urban and rural areas. Under the decentralized administration of the emergency relief program the expression of these differences through budgetary estimates was left almost entirely to State or local administrations, with no guiding Federal pattern.[8] Reported data on case loads and expenditures are not generally separated for urban and rural relief, but the FERA Division of Research, Statistics, and Finance received reports from all counties and has computed, for each State, average monthly relief benefits per family in the principal city areas [9] and in the remainder of the State. These data, which appeared in the *Monthly Reports of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration*, indicate the sharp differences between the levels of relief benefits in the large cities and in other areas of the States.[10] Because of the more rapid rise of relief standards in rural than in urban areas the trend until November 1935 was toward a lessening of the differential.[11]

More direct comparison of average benefits to urban and to rural cases is possible for selected sample areas. Average monthly benefits per case during 1934 and 1935 for 120 large cities are compared in table 9 with estimated averages for rural areas. These samples[12]

[8] The early requirement of FERA that work-relief wages follow the prevailing rates of the community, but be not less than 30 cents per hour, was an acceptance of local wage differences that had led in the past to well-defined wage differentials between rural and urban communities. The wage scales set up for Civil Works Program projects provided specific differentials for geographic divisions and for urban and rural areas within each division.

[9] The areas cover, in most instances, the counties in which the cities are located.

[10] During January 1935, when average relief benefits were at their highest point, the level of benefits in the principal city areas in the United States was approximately 60 percent higher than that in the remainder of the country. See *Monthly Report of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, March 1 Through March 31, 1935*, Federal Emergency Relief Administration, Washington, D. C., 1935, table 5, p. 52.

[11] WPA Divisions of Research and Statistics, *Summary of Relief and Federal Work Program Statistics, January 1933–December 1939*, report in preparation.

[12] U. S. Children's Bureau, Urban Relief Series. The Urban Relief Series was maintained by the U. S. Children's Bureau prior to June 1936, when it was transferred to the Social Security Board. The rural estimates were prepared by the Rural Section of the Division of Social Research, Works Progress Administration. They are based primarily on reported data from the 1,417 rural counties in the United States having no center of population of 2,500 inhabitants or more, and include some data obtained through the rural current change survey, which included towns up to 25,000 population and eliminated counties with cities of 25,000 population or more. See unpublished data from the Survey of Current Changes in the Rural Relief Population, 1935, Division of Social Research, Works Progress Administration, Washington, D. C.

refer, respectively, to large cities and to rural counties with no center of population of more than 2,500, and are therefore not fully representative of total urban and total rural United States as defined for census purposes. They do, however, indicate the wide range in size of monthly benefits according to place of residence.

Table 9.—Average Monthly General Relief Benefit per Case, Continental United States, 120 Urban Areas, and Rural United States, Selected Months, 1934–1935

Year and month	Continental United States	120 urban areas [1]	Rural United States [2]
1934			
January	$15.71	$19.86	$11.91
April	20.61	25.08	12.42
July	22.40	28.80	15.14
October	24.45	30.81	16.94
1935			
January	28.13	35.35	19.60
April	26.59	33.32	18.35
July	27.23	34.06	16.09
October	25.52	30.75	15.69

[1] From monthly reports on relief in urban areas by the U. S. Children's Bureau.

[2] A weighted average estimated by the Rural Section of the Division of Social Research, Works Progress Administration, from actual expenditures for relief extended to cases and case loads in 1,417 rural counties with no center of population of 2,500 inhabitants or more, and from data obtained through the rural current change survey, which included towns up to 25,000 population and eliminated counties with cities of 25,000 population or more. See unpublished data from the Survey of Current Changes in the Rural Relief Population, 1935, Division of Social Research, Works Progress Administration, Washington, D. C.

The estimated average benefit for relief cases in these rural areas was never in any month during the period more than 60 percent of the average benefit for relief cases in large urban areas. During the last half of 1935 the average monthly benefit for rural relief cases was approximately half the amount for urban cases. The smaller benefit prevailed despite the fact that the rural case is normally larger in size than the urban case. Low rentals in rural areas and opportunities for raising food or obtaining it at nominal or reduced cost largely explain, and to some extent compensate for, the smaller monthly benefits. The destitute in rural areas can, in more instances than those in urban areas, resort to "squatting" or to foraging to supply necessary shelter and food not covered by the relief allowance. Average monthly benefits per case in the continental United States, shown also in table 9, fell between the averages for rural and urban areas for the same months, effectively concealing the urban-rural differences in the level of relief benefits.

While for each State there is typically a rural-urban differential in the size of relief allowances, the dispersion by States in size of benefits to rural cases is no less remarkable. Thus, in the Northeastern States average benefits in rural counties are well above the average benefit for the continental United States for the same months. The extent of the dispersion in size of rural benefits will appear from appendix table 5, which gives the average monthly benefits per case for 1,417 rural counties, grouped by States, at quarterly intervals from July 1933 through October 1935.

Within States largely urban, and having high average benefits per case, there may be hidden rural areas with low averages. For example, in April 1935 California had a State-wide average benefit of $34.99, while the average for the rural areas outside the principal cities was $26.09. Other States showing like differences were Illinois, $29.34 for the State as a whole and $17.01 in rural sample areas, Maryland, $27.47 and $15.02; Massachusetts, $41 and $29.88; New York, $41.18 and $30.11; and Ohio, $22.98 and $15.93 (table 4 and appendix table 5).

In predominantly rural States, on the other hand, the State-wide average benefit may be close to the average for the rural sample and conceal the level of benefits in urban centers. Thus, the average benefit per family case during April 1935 was $11 for the entire State of Kentucky and $23.20 for Louisville; $13.47 for Arkansas and $25.17 for Little Rock; and $13.80 for North Carolina and $21.26 for Winston-Salem (appendix table 3).[13]

Similarly, the general averages for urban and for rural areas obscure wide variations in average relief benefits for communities of different sizes falling within these broad classifications. That there are well-defined differentials in size of average relief benefits given to rural cases living in open country, village, and town communities, respectively, is clearly indicated in table 10, which shows average relief benefits for 138 counties, by type of area, for selected months of 1935.

Table 10.—Average Monthly General Relief Benefit per Case in Rural and Town Areas, Selected Months, 1935

[138 counties]

Year and month	Total	Open country [1]	Village [2]	Town [3]
1935				
February [4]	$16.26	$14.48	$18.26	$19.72
June	16.14	14.66	17.73	18.29
October	14.60	12.56	17.18	17.05

[1] Outside of places having 50 inhabitants or more in 1930.
[2] A place having 50 to 2,499 inhabitants in 1930.
[3] A place having 2,500 to 4,999 inhabitants in 1930.
[4] Cases receiving drought relief excluded from February figures because such cases are not included in the June and October figures.

Source: Unpublished data from the Survey of Current Changes in the Rural Relief Population, 1935, Division of Social Research, Works Progress Administration, Washington, D. C.

During February 1935 the average monthly benefit per case in the combined rural and small-town areas was $16.26. The average benefit for relief cases living in the open country (outside of places having 50 or more inhabitants in 1930) was only $14.48. For cases

[13] Although these figures are on a family-case basis rather than a case basis, as for States largely urban, they nevertheless reveal the differences between the average benefits for the State as a whole and for urban centers.

living in villages of from 50 to 2,499 inhabitants, the average monthly relief benefit was $18.26; for those living in small towns of from 2,500 to 4,999 inhabitants, $19.72. Similar differentials prevailed in June 1935. In October 1935 the averages still showed marked differentials according to type of area, although they were probably unevenly affected by the transfer of cases to WPA, and hence are less reliable as indexes of the normal differentials between the residence areas.

A frequency distribution of relief benefits for these same counties and residence areas shows the proportions of cases receiving stated amounts of relief in June 1935, and reveals the very high proportion of small benefits in rural areas (table 11). Almost 40 percent of the cases residing in the open-country areas received monthly benefits of less than $10 and more than 76 percent received benefits of less than $20. This predominance of small benefits reflects the lower cost of living in rural areas, but it is indicative also of the tendency to regard farmers and other agricultural workers as employed and partially self-supporting, regardless of the lack of cash income. Hence the proportion of small supplemental benefits is unusually large for this group.

Table 11.—Number and Percent of Cases Receiving a Stated Amount of General Relief, by Rural and Town Areas, June 1935

[138 counties]

Amount	Total		Open country [1]		Village [2]		Town [3]	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	62,056	100.0	33,476	100.0	21,192	100.0	7,388	100.0
Less than $10	22,292	36.0	13,374	39.9	6,658	31.4	2,260	30.6
$10–$19.99	22,190	35.8	12,270	36.7	7,382	34.9	2,538	34.3
$20–$29.99	9,328	15.0	4,356	13.0	3,734	17.6	1,238	16.8
$30–$39.99	4,434	7.1	1,926	5.8	1,798	8.5	710	9.6
$40–$59.99	3,034	4.9	1,240	3.7	1,278	6.0	516	7.0
$60–$79.99	626	1.0	248	0.7	300	1.4	88	1.2
$80 or more	152	0.2	62	0.2	52	0.2	38	0.5

[1] Outside of places having 50 inhabitants or more in 1930.
[2] A place having 50 to 2,499 inhabitants in 1930.
[3] A place having 2,500 to 4,999 inhabitants in 1930.

Source: Unpublished data from the Survey of Current Changes in the Rural Relief Population, 1935, Division of Social Research, Works Progress Administration, Washington, D. C.

Chapter III

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC FACTORS INFLUENCING THE AVERAGE GENERAL RELIEF BENEFIT

BEHIND ALL announced administrative policies and underlying each relief budget was an implicit assumption of what constituted need and what represented adequate subsistence. Conceptions of proper relief standards were deep-rooted in the socio-economic structure of a community and, to the extent that the State and local relief administrations were responsive to the forces of community opinion, these conceptions were reflected in the relief standards established under the ERA program.

SOCIAL ATTITUDES TOWARD RELIEF STANDARDS

Attitudes toward relief standards were influenced by prevailing or customary standards of living, actual or believed, of relief applicants and others in the community, and by prior standards of relief through private or public agencies. There may have been a desire to maintain relief standards in a certain relationship to wages in private industry, either on a level with or below existing nonrelief wages. Prior economic and social status also often had weight in determining relief standards. It was not infrequently felt that since professional and clerical workers were accustomed to a higher standard of living than unskilled workers, they should receive a larger amount of relief. The consistently higher relief averages for urban than for rural areas may reflect this attitude to some extent.

A part of the increase in the size of the national average amount of relief extended to cases from 1933 to 1935 may be attributed to changes in social attitudes toward relief. When the depression began, it was

commonly assumed that poverty signified either shiftlessness or lack of thrift. Because of the belief that relief cases would not seek work except under the stimulus of hunger, some communities gave them as little aid as possible. The attitude of the public gradually changed as it became apparent that many capable and trained persons could not find work despite their efforts in seeking it. It became more and more evident that merely sustaining life was not enough, but that health and morale also had to be maintained if the needy persons were to continue as useful citizens. As this responsibility for more adequate care was more generally recognized, the change in attitude made itself felt in rising relief standards.

AVERAGE RELIEF BENEFITS FOR WHITE AND FOR NEGRO CASES

Rules and regulations of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration with respect to work relief prohibited any discrimination because of race, religion, color, noncitizenship, political affiliation, or membership in any special or selected group. Although these regulations contained no specific statement of this sort concerning direct relief, they imposed an obligation on all States to see to it that all needy unemployed persons received sufficient relief to maintain minimum living standards.[1] In many localities, however, there were distinct differences in the average amounts of relief extended to different racial and socio-economic groups which are not revealed by the average for the entire relief load.

Possibly all minority groups are subject to a certain degree of deviation from the amount of relief accorded to the remainder of the population. Basically this is related to family budgets as calculated from assumed standards of living. An example which comes first to mind is the difference between the benefits given to Negro and to white cases. As with other minority groups, this disparity cannot be attributed entirely to local judgment in regard to the relative needs of the two groups, since at least a part of the seeming discrimination can be explained by differences in the actual composition of the relief groups.

Thus, a series of surveys has established the fact that the average Negro relief case is smaller than the average white case. Studies in rural areas of the South, where the disparity in the level of relief benefits for the two racial groups is most pronounced, have disclosed

[1] It was stated in *Purpose and Activities of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration*, Federal Emergency Relief Administration, Washington, D. C., 1935, p. 3, that "Relief is given to needy unemployed persons without discrimination because of race, religion, marital status, political affiliation, citizenship or noncitizenship, or membership in any special or selected group." Presumably this applies to direct relief as well as work relief for which larger benefits were usually paid.

a number of other underlying factors. A larger proportion of the Negro than of the white families on relief were found to include no gainful workers; as a consequence the Negro families were underrepresented on work relief, which usually brought a higher income than did direct relief. Furthermore, among employable Negro families part-time and irregular jobs in private industry accounted for a relatively high proportion of supplementary relief cases for which relief benefits were smaller than for cases entirely dependent upon relief. The prevailing differences in the occupational status of the white and Negro worker are, of course, also reflected in the disproportionate size of relief benefits reported for the two racial groups.

The average benefits per Negro and per white relief case in 44 sample counties in the Cotton Belt for February and June 1935 are shown in table 12. Separate averages have been computed for cases living in open-country, in village, and in town areas in the Eastern and in the Western Cotton Areas.

Table 12.—Average Monthly General Relief Benefit per Case in the Cotton Belt, by Rural and Town Areas, by Race, Selected Months, 1935

[44 counties]

Area	February 1935 [1]		June 1935	
	Negro	White	Negro	White
EASTERN COTTON AREA				
Total	$7.70	$12.25	$8.31	$13.81
Open country [2]	6.74	10.99	7.68	11.78
Village [3]	8.89	15.36	8.71	17.58
Town [4]	10.71	15.00	9.75	14.57
WESTERN COTTON AREA				
Total	8.18	10.33	8.27	10.95
Open country	8.45	9.86	8.18	10.32
Village	7.62	10.96	7.12	11.01
Town	7.90	12.53	9.90	15.27

[1] Cases receiving drought relief are excluded from February figures because such cases are not included in the June figures.
[2] Outside of places having 50 or more inhabitants in 1930.
[3] A place having 50 to 2,499 inhabitants in 1930.
[4] A place having 2,500 to 4,999 inhabitants in 1930.

Source: Zimmerman, C. C. and Whetten, N. L., *Rural Families on Relief*, Research Monograph XVII, Division of Social Research, Works Progress Administration, Washington, D. C., 1938. See also Mangus, A. R., *Changing Aspects of Rural Relief*, Research Monograph XIV, Division of Social Research, Works Progress Administration, Washington, D. C., 1938.

The differential between average benefits for Negro and white cases was apparently greater in the Eastern than in the Western Cotton Area, although for cases living in the town areas the disparity was about the same in the two regions. For all residences in the Eastern Cotton Area the average benefit per Negro case in February 1935 was $7.70 as compared with $12.25 per white case. In the Western Cotton Area the average benefits were, respectively, $8.18 and $10.33. Similar differentials prevailed in June 1935 (table 12).

A comparison of average monthly general relief benefits received by Negro and white cases on relief in 13 cities during May 1935 shows no consistent difference between the amounts granted to the 2 racial groups (table 13). For all cities combined the average benefit per white case was almost $5 greater than that per Negro case. For all the races the average benefit per case during May 1935 was $27.87; for white cases, $29.05; and for Negro cases, $24.18.

Table 13.—Average Monthly General Relief Benefit per Case Receiving Relief Throughout May 1935,[1] by City and Race

[13 cities]

City	All races [2]	White	Negro
Total	$27.87	$29.05	$24.18
Atlanta, Ga	25.39	32.66	19.29
Baltimore, Md	37.17	37.97	36.02
Bridgeport, Conn	57.41	57.26	†
Butte, Mont	30.81	30.96	†
Chicago, Ill	20.83	21.15	19.43
Detroit, Mich	39.42	40.90	35.13
Houston, Tex	15.27	16.86	12.67
Manchester, N. H	27.73	27.73	†
Omaha, Nebr	28.08	28.93	24.10
Paterson, N. J	27.07	26.89	†
St. Louis, Mo	27.68	29.97	24.50
San Francisco, Calif	38.64	38.76	†
Wilkes-Barre, Pa	34.32	34.61	†

† Average not computed for fewer than 25 cases.

[1] Excludes May openings and June closings.
[2] Includes "other races" aggregating 2 percent of total.

Source: Unpublished data from the published study by Carmichael, F. L., and Payne, Stanley L., *The 1935 Relief Population in 13 Cities: A Cross-Section*, Research Bulletin, Series I, No. 23, Division of Social Research, Works Progress Administration, Washington, D. C., December 31, 1936.

The differential in average benefits was greatest in Atlanta, the only Southeastern city included, where the average benefit was $32.66 for white cases and only $19.29 for Negro cases. The combined average benefit of $25.39 conceals entirely this difference in the level of relief benefits for the two racial groups (table 13).

The data for cities in the North and West show smaller differences between average benefits for Negro and for white cases. It is evident that the general average is seriously affected by the difference between the amounts granted the two races only in a part of the country where the Negroes form an important group in the population. In the South an average benefit figure that includes both races does not accurately describe the average amount of relief received by either.

EFFECT OF COST OF LIVING

An economic factor which had an indirect influence upon the size of average monthly relief benefits was the cost of living. After June 1933 the purchasing power of the dollar gradually declined, and this rise in the cost of living offset in part the increase in the average benefit as expressed in terms of money.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics index of the cost of goods purchased by wage earners and lower-salaried workers in 32 large cities[2] reached its lowest point in recent years in June 1933, just after the FERA was created. From this month as a base date the index numbers show an increase of 8 percent in the total cost of living by March 1935. Over the same period the indexes of the cost of food rose 23 percent. Other items, with the exception of rent, moved upward also but to a lesser extent. By September 1937 the combined index had risen to more than 14 percent above the June 1933 base. For three subsequent dates at quarterly intervals total living costs were slightly below the September 1937 level (table 14).

There are at any time marked differences in the cost of living in the various sections of the country,[3] and it is probable that the rise in

Table 14.—Index of the Cost of Goods Purchased by Wage Earners and Lower-Salaried Workers, June 1933–June 15, 1938 [1]

[32 cities: June 1933=100]

Year and month	Total	Food	Clothing	Rent	Fuel and light	Household furnishing goods	Miscellaneous
1933							
June	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
December	103.6	107.2	111.4	95.7	106.0	111.7	100.4
1934							
June	105.2	113.1	113.9	98.9	103.3	114.0	100.2
November 15	106.2	116.0	113.7	98.9	104.8	114.7	100.3
1935							
March 15	108.2	123.0	114.0	98.7	105.2	115.5	100.4
July 15	107.9	123.6	113.7	98.9	100.0	115.8	100.3
October 15	108.3	123.6	114.0	94.8	103.3	117.0	100.2
1936							
January 15	109.1	125.7	114.5	95.1	104.0	117.0	100.2
April 15	108.2	122.3	114.9	96.4	103.7	117.5	100.1
July 15	110.1	129.4	114.6	96.1	101.4	117.8	100.0
September 15	110.6	130.0	114.9	96.7	102.9	118.8	100.1
December 15	110.6	127.7	116.4	97.9	103.4	120.4	100.4
1937							
March 15	112.5	131.6	118.3	98.7	103.8	126.3	100.9
June 15	113.4	133.0	120.0	101.0	100.0	129.3	101.3
September 15	114.1	132.2	122.8	101.9	101.3	131.8	101.8
December 15	113.4	127.3	122.8	103.7	102.8	133.0	102.3
1938							
March 15	111.4	121.1	121.1	103.9	103.7	129.8	102.2
June 15	111.8	123.6	120.3	104.3	100.7	128.6	102.4

[1] Index numbers computed from data in *Monthly Labor Review*, Vol. 47, No. 4, October 1938, p. 828. Index numbers converted from 1923–1925 average as 100 to June 1933 base.

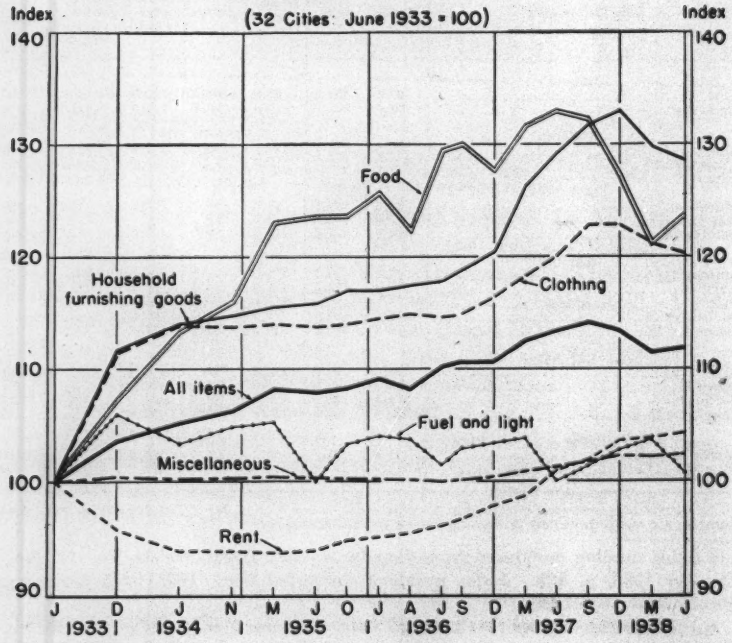
[2] Index number computed from data in *Monthly Labor Review*, Vol. 47, No. 4, October 1938, p. 828. Index numbers converted from 1923–1925 average as 100 to June 1933 base.

[3] A WPA study shows that among 59 cities geographically distributed throughout the country the lowest cost of living at a uniform maintenance level was a little more than 20 percent below the highest cost. Stecker, Margaret L., *Intercity Differences in Costs of Living in March 1935, 59 Cities*, Research Monograph XII, Division of Social Research, Works Progress Administration, Washington, D. C., 1937.

costs during the period under discussion was not uniform for different States or cities, any more than the rise in the relief benefit was uniform. It is known that a number of State and local relief administrations undertook to raise relief allowances to compensate for the higher prices of food and other budgetary necessities, but there was no systematic adjustment of the relief allowance to the higher costs of living. In many instances fiscal difficulties and the continued influx of new relief applicants made it impossible to increase the relief allowance.

Indexes of the cost of goods purchased by wage earners and lower-salaried workers in 32 large cities, combined, during 18 different months are shown in figure 4 and table 14. It will be seen that the various items change at quite different rates.

Fig. 4 – INDEX OF THE COST OF GOODS PURCHASED BY WAGE EARNERS AND LOWER-SALARIED WORKERS
June 1933 – June 15, 1938



Source: Table 14.

WPA 3249

SIZE OF THE RELIEF CASE

The relief load, like the general population, comprises households of various sizes. In addition to the usual economic and social factors influencing the average size of family in different sections of the United States, there is present the additional factor of the definition of a relief case, which may vary from agency to agency. The *relief family* does not always correspond with the *family* as defined by the Bureau of the Census. Relief cases usually include only those members of a given household who are sharing in the relief budget, excluding other members of the family who may be living under the same roof. Variations in the definition of a relief case are most likely to occur with respect to combined households. For example, if a married son and his family have moved back to live with his parents, the combined household might be counted either as one or as two relief cases depending upon the practice of the agency. If only one person in a household were receiving relief, the case might be considered a nonfamily case by one agency, while in another agency it would be listed as a family case.

PROPORTION OF NONFAMILY CASES

The changes in the proportion of nonfamily cases in the general relief load between July 1933 and June 1938 are shown in table 15. These cases increased during this period from 11.5 percent of the total to a maximum of 34.4 percent in June 1937. The proportion dropped thereafter to 26.6 in February 1938, but another upward trend began in March, and by June 1938 nonfamily cases constituted 29.1 percent of the case load. Partly as a result of this circumstance, and of the decreased portion of relief cases consisting of two households, the average number of persons per case fell during these 5 years from 3.9 to 3.2. The average number of persons per family case remained fairly constant, around 4.3 and 4.4, until March 1935. During subsequent months it declined, reaching 4.0 toward the close of the year but increasing slightly in 1937 and 1938. This shrinkage in the average size of the relief case and of the relief family contributed, of course, to the decline in average relief benefits.

Variations from State to State in the average number of persons per case and per family case are apparent (appendix table 6). Similar differences appear in the distribution of relief cases by number of persons in the case (appendix table 7 and fig. 5). October 1933 is the only month for which such information is available for the entire country. Differentials of this magnitude probably persisted throughout the entire period and had an effect on the size of the average benefit in those States having an unusual proportion of either large or small cases.

Table 15.—Average Number of General Relief Persons per Case and per Family Case, and Percent of Nonfamily Cases, July 1933–June 1938

[Continental United States]

Year and month	Persons per case	Persons per family case	Nonfamily cases as percent of total cases	Year and month	Persons per case	Persons per family case	Nonfamily cases as percent of total cases
1933				1936			
July	3.9	4.3	11.5	January	3.3	4.1	26.2
August	4.0	4.4	10.8	February	3.2	4.1	26.6
September	3.9	4.3	11.7	March	3.2	4.1	28.0
October	3.9	4.4	12.5	April	3.2	4.1	29.0
November	3.9	4.3	11.9	May	3.1	4.0	30.2
December	3.8	4.3	14.1	June	3.1	4.0	31.4
1934				July	3.0	4.0	32.4
January	3.8	4.3	15.1	August	3.1	4.0	32.4
February	3.8	4.3	15.9	September	3.1	4.0	32.3
March	3.8	4.3	15.3	October	3.1	4.0	32.4
April	3.9	4.3	13.1	November	3.1	4.1	31.9
May	3.9	4.3	13.2	December	3.1	4.1	31.0
June	3.9	4.3	12.6	1937			
July	3.9	4.3	12.6	January	3.2	4.1	29.7
August	3.9	4.3	12.6	February	3.2	4.1	29.7
September	3.9	4.3	12.8	March	3.2	4.1	30.2
October	3.9	4.3	13.3	April	3.1	4.1	31.9
November	3.8	4.3	13.7	May	3.0	4.1	33.7
December	3.9	4.3	13.5	June	3.0	4.1	34.4
1935				July	3.0	4.1	34.0
January	3.8	4.3	13.8	August	3.1	4.1	33.4
February	3.8	4.3	14.1	September	3.1	4.1	32.5
March	3.8	4.3	14.6	October	3.1	4.1	32.5
April	3.8	4.2	15.0	November	3.2	4.1	31.4
May	3.7	4.2	15.3	December	3.3	4.2	29.0
June	3.7	4.2	15.7	1938			
July	3.7	4.2	15.7	January	3.3	4.2	27.1
August	3.7	4.2	15.8	February	3.3	4.2	26.6
September	3.6	4.2	16.5	March	3.3	4.1	27.1
October	3.6	4.1	17.1	April	3.3	4.2	28.6
November	3.6	4.1	17.6	May	3.3	4.2	28.8
December	3.4	4.0	20.1	June	3.2	4.2	29.1

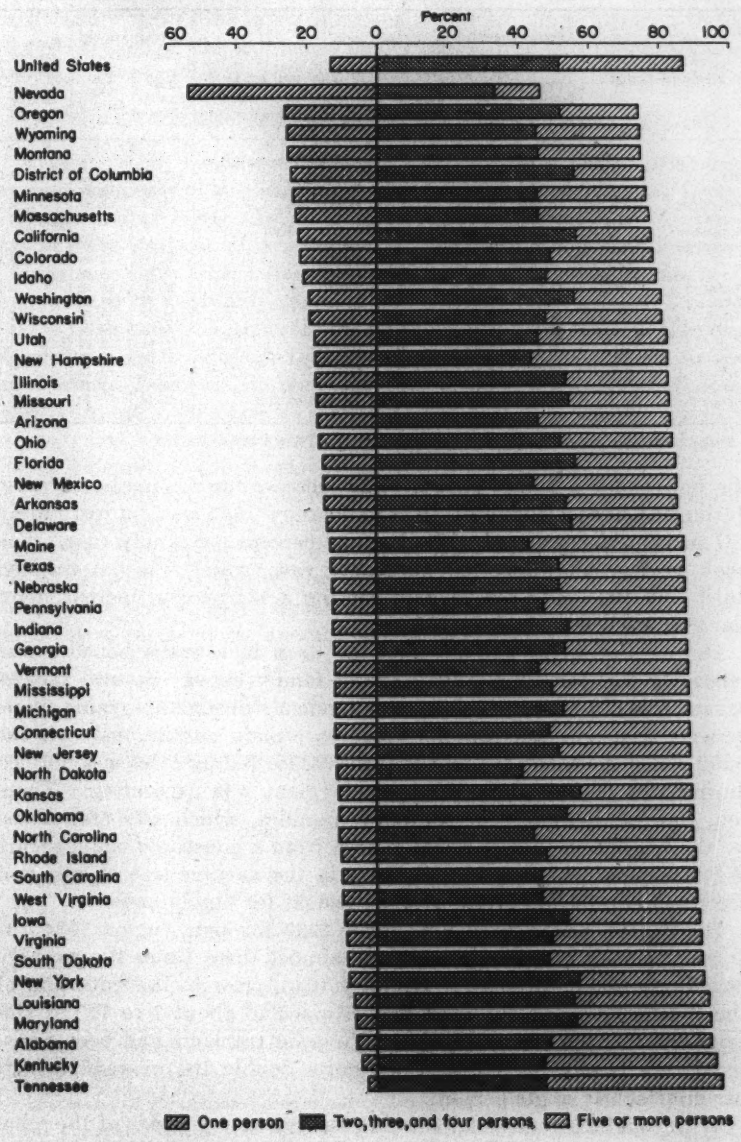
Source: Figures for 1933, 1934, and 1935 were reported to the FERA by State Emergency Relief Administrations; those for January 1936 through March 1937 were partially estimated by the Works Progress Administration, and those for subsequent months were partially estimated by the Social Security Board.

The monthly reports of the FERA permitted the computation of three types of average benefits which reflected the influence of the size of case—averages for family cases, nonfamily cases, and for all cases combined. Average monthly general relief benefits for family cases were normally higher than the average benefits for total cases and were decidedly higher than benefits paid to nonfamily cases (tables 3 and 16).

A comparison of average benefits per family and per nonfamily case indicates that the benefit per family case rose from $15.45 in July 1933 to $24.36 in July 1934 and to a peak of $30.45 in January 1935, while the average benefit per nonfamily case rose in the same periods from $6.03 to $8.84 to $13.71 (table 16). During the first 12-month period the absolute increase in the family benefit was considerably greater than that in the nonfamily benefit. After July 1934 the increases were very similar, but the budget for a single person would obviously benefit far more from this additional income than would

Fig 5 – PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF GENERAL RELIEF CASES BY SIZE OF CASE, BY STATE

October 1933



Source: Appendix table 7

WPA 3250

Table 16.—Average and Ratio of Monthly General Relief Benefit per Family and per Nonfamily Case, July 1933–December 1935

[Continental United States]

Year and month	Average benefit		Ratio of family benefit to nonfamily benefit	Year and month	Average benefit		Ratio of family benefit to nonfamily benefit
	Per family case	Per nonfamily case			Per family case	Per nonfamily case	
1933				1934—Continued			
July	$15.45	$6.03	2.6	October	$26.40	$11.75	2.2
August	16.33	6.49	2.5	November	28.40	12.29	2.3
September	17.34	6.17	2.8	December	28.42	12.81	2.2
October	19.05	6.22	3.1	1935			
November	18.51	6.44	2.9	January	30.45	13.71	2.2
December	17.67	6.30	2.8	February	28.00	13.08	2.1
1934				March	28.83	13.23	2.2
January	17.38	6.35	2.7	April	28.96	13.13	2.2
February	17.34	6.03	2.9	May	29.33	13.91	2.1
March	18.23	6.59	2.8	June	28.17	13.16	2.1
April	22.51	7.94	2.8	July	29.64	14.29	2.1
May	24.54	8.33	2.9	August	28.41	14.12	2.0
June	23.84	8.73	2.7	September	25.86	13.12	2.0
July	24.36	8.84	2.8	October	27.87	14.16	2.0
August	25.98	9.76	2.7	November	23.87	12.73	1.9
September	24.25	9.69	2.5	December	23.16	12.60	1.8

Source: Data reported to the FERA by State Emergency Relief Administrations.

the budget for a family group. The increase for the nonfamily case during the period from July 1933 to January 1935 was approximately 127 percent as compared with about 96 percent per family case. The peak average allowance per nonfamily case, which was not reached until July 1935, was $14.29, representing a 137-percent increase over the average benefit in July 1933.

During the latter half of 1935 the drop in average benefits was relatively less for nonfamily than for family cases. Several factors caused this difference. There was a tendency for unemployable single persons who required complete care to remain continuously on the relief rolls. An increased rate of turnover for family cases was noticed during this period when WPA employment was expanding. Then, too, the "undoubling" of combined families, which was stimulated by the regulation that only one person from a household could secure WPA employment, led to a decrease in the average size of case and a consequent decline in the average benefit for family cases.

During the period from September 1933 through August 1934 the average benefit per family case was almost three times the average benefit per nonfamily case. By May 1935, prior to the initiation of the Works Program, the ratio had dropped to about 2 to 1. In December, after the effects of Works Program transfers had been registered, the family benefit was not quite double the average benefit per unattached single person.

With relief allowances adjusted to the budgetary needs of the relief case it is to be expected that the average monthly benefit per family

case would be substantially higher than that per single person. It does not follow, of course, that a family of four should have benefits equal to four times those for a nonfamily case. Individual members of a family group do not require as much as single persons living alone, because of the economies in the purchasing and preparation of food for several persons and the wider distribution of overhead costs.

AVERAGE RELIEF BENEFITS BY NUMBER OF PERSONS IN CASE

Average relief benefits per person vary not only with the change in average benefits per case but are also related to changes in the average size of case. As the number of persons per case declines, the average amount of relief extended per person tends to increase. This is especially true if the decline is due to an increase in the relative number of nonfamily cases.

It is not possible from available national and State data to measure the differences in average benefits by the number of persons in the relief case. However, it is possible to analyze these differences in selected months for cases in selected rural and urban areas included in the rural and urban current change surveys of the Division of Social Research of the Works Progress Administration.

The analysis shown in table 17 of monthly relief benefits received by rural and small-town relief cases in 138 counties in February and June 1935 indicates that the average relief benefit increased progressively with the size of the relief household. In February 1935 the average benefit for all households combined was $16.26. The one-person case received an average benefit of $9.85, while for cases of

Table 17.—Average Monthly General Relief Benefit per Case, by Size of Case in Rural and Town Areas, February and June 1935

[138 counties]

Size of case	February 1935 [1]				June 1935			
	Total	Open country [2]	Village [3]	Town [4]	Total	Open country	Village	Town
Total	$16.26	$14.48	$18.26	$19.72	$16.14	$14.66	$17.73	$18.29
1 person	9.85	—	—	—	10.12	8.36	11.93	9.52
2 persons	12.36	—	—	—	12.43	11.12	13.36	14.12
3 persons	15.26	—	—	—	14.69	12.69	16.60	17.31
4 persons	16.58	—	—	—	16.57	14.21	18.93	20.40
5 persons	17.50	—	—	—	18.37	16.00	21.15	22.89
6 persons	19.47	—	—	—	19.37	16.84	22.87	24.48
7 persons	20.86	—	—	—	21.08	18.47	25.59	26.03
8 persons or more	22.10	—	—	—	22.95	21.16	25.90	29.20

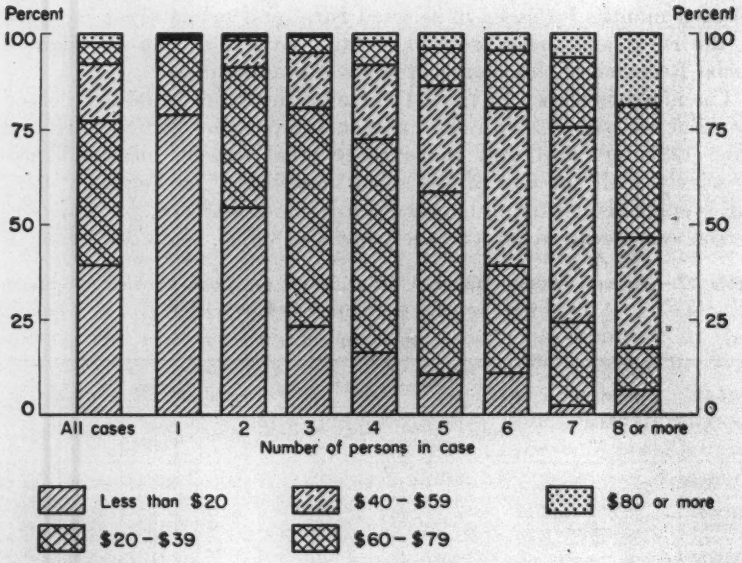
[1] Cases receiving drought relief excluded from February figures because such cases are not included in the June figures.
[2] Outside of places having 50 inhabitants or more in 1930.
[3] A place having 50 to 2,499 inhabitants in 1930.
[4] A place having 2,500 to 4,999 inhabitants in 1930.

Source: Unpublished data from the Survey of Current Changes in the Rural Relief Population, 1935, Division of Social Research, Works Progress Administration, Washington, D. C.

two, three, four, five, six, seven, and eight or more persons the average benefit was progressively larger. The data for June 1935 show very similar differentials in average benefits by size of household.

The urban study supplying information on average relief benefits covers cases receiving relief in 13 cities throughout the entire month of May 1935, and provides information on supplementary earnings as well as size of case [4] (table 24, p. 56). These data indicate that for urban cases also the average monthly relief benefit tended to be larger for cases having a larger number of persons. The average relief benefit during May 1935 for one-person cases with no earnings from private employment was $13.10. For cases of two, three, four, five, six, seven, and eight or more persons, it was, respectively, $22,

Fig. 6 – PERCENT OF GENERAL RELIEF CASES WITH NO PRIVATE EMPLOYMENT EARNINGS BUT RECEIVING STATED AMOUNTS OF RELIEF, BY SIZE OF CASE, 13 CITIES
May 1935



Source: Table 18.

WPA 3281

[4] Carmichael, F. L. and Payne, Stanley L., *The 1935 Relief Population in 13 Cities: A Cross-Section*, Research Bulletin, Series I, No. 23, Division of Social Research, Works Progress Administration, Washington, D. C., December 31, 1936. See also pp. 51–52 below for description of sample and discussion of the relationship between size of case and amount of supplementary earnings.

$28.70, $33.30, $40.20, $44.40, $51, and $61.90. Since the monthly relief allowance constituted virtually the sole income for these cases, the figures afford a good measure of the relative amounts available for the subsistence of relief cases of different sizes in these urban areas.

The ascending scale of benefits for the larger family groups was accompanied by a descending scale of benefits per individual member of the family. Thus, the individual member of a seven-person case with no nonrelief earnings received an average benefit of $7.30 as compared with the $13.10 received by the unattached single person.[5]

A distribution of nonsupplemented relief cases in each sized group according to the amount of relief received during May 1935 indicates that the proportion of small monthly benefits declined as the size of case increased, and that the proportion of large benefits increased in the same order. These relationships are apparent from figure 6.

While almost half of the one-person cases received less than $10 during the month, less than 1 percent of the cases of seven and of eight persons or more received benefits as small as $10 (table 18). Conversely, while almost half of the seven-person cases and almost three-fourths of the cases of eight persons or more received $50 or more for the month, less than 1 percent of the one-person cases were given benefits of that size.

Table 18.—Number and Cumulative Percent of General Relief Cases, With No Private Employment Earnings but Receiving Stated Amounts of Relief, by Size of Case, May 1935

[13 cities]

Amount	Total cases	Size of case							
		1 person	2 persons	3 persons	4 persons	5 persons	6 persons	7 persons	8 persons or more
Number	[1] 7,408	1,833	1,610	1,256	1,029	734	399	243	304
		Cumulative percent							
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Less than $80	97.9	99.9	99.6	99.4	98.0	96.0	95.8	93.8	81.6
Less than $70	95.7	99.8	99.2	97.8	95.5	92.6	89.5	86.8	68.1
Less than $60	92.2	99.7	98.6	94.9	91.8	86.5	80.7	75.7	46.4
Less than $50	86.3	99.4	95.9	91.0	84.2	76.2	64.4	51.0	26.0
Less than $40	77.4	98.9	91.0	80.8	72.2	58.5	39.1	24.2	17.8
Less than $30	62.8	92.9	77.9	65.7	53.3	25.6	20.8	9.4	9.3
Less than $20	39.5	73.8	54.5	23.2	16.4	10.6	11.0	2.4	6.3
Less than $10	16.3	48.6	12.0	3.3	5.0	3.1	1.7	0.4	0.7

[1] Includes a few cases receiving relief amounting to $80 or more. Excludes 20 cases not reporting amount of relief income.

Source: Carmichael, F. L. and Payne, Stanley L., *The 1935 Relief Population in 13 Cities: A Cross-Section*, Research Bulletin, Series I, No. 23, Division of Social Research, Works Progress Administration, Washington, D. C., December 31, 1936.

[5] See table 24, p. 56.

Chapter IV

ADMINISTRATIVE AND TECHNICAL FACTORS INFLUENCING THE AVERAGE GENERAL RELIEF BENEFIT

CERTAIN FACTORS influencing the size of average relief benefits are not primarily the result of impersonal economic and social forces, but they are due to conscious action on the part of those responsible for relief administration. The rules and regulations made by each State and each local political subdivision had a bearing on the kind and the amount of relief given to cases. Policies of extending relief as direct or work relief, supplementation of nonrelief income, and policies on opening and closing of cases were determined by administrative decisions.

Administrative policy determined, to a large extent, the effects of limited relief funds on budgetary standards and average relief benefits. The relief agency might refuse to accept more cases than could be cared for at the accepted standard of adequacy, or it might ignore budgetary standards and spread the available relief funds among all needy applicants. A reduction in funds might be met either by a curtailment of relief loads or by a lowering of relief allowances. Conversely, an increase in available funds might lead either to a raising of relief allowances or to an expansion of case loads. A smaller relief load might result in a numerically higher average amount per case when cases that had received only small sums for supplemental aid were dropped first.

EMPHASIS ON DIRECT OR WORK RELIEF

The average benefit received by cases on work relief was consistently higher than that received by cases on direct relief. Because of the multiplicity of factors which influenced the average benefit, it is not possible to make a significant direct correlation in the several States between the ratio of cases on work relief at any time and the level of benefits. The tendency, however, was for the average benefit to rise during the period when the Emergency Work Relief Program was increasing most rapidly.

Monthly relief reports made by the States to the FERA do not permit the computation of an average benefit for cases receiving direct relief only or work relief only. The proportion of cases receiving both forms of relief within the same month, either concurrently or successively, ranged from 9 percent of the general relief load in May 1934 to a high point of 18 percent in March 1935 (table 19 and fig. 7). A much greater variation existed within and among individual States (appendix table 9). Because of the overlap, averages prepared from data on the number of direct- and work-relief cases and the obligations incurred for direct and work relief are likely to be quite misleading.

Table 19.—Number and Percent of General Relief Cases Receiving Direct Relief Only, Work Relief Only, and Both Direct and Work Relief, May 1934–December 1935

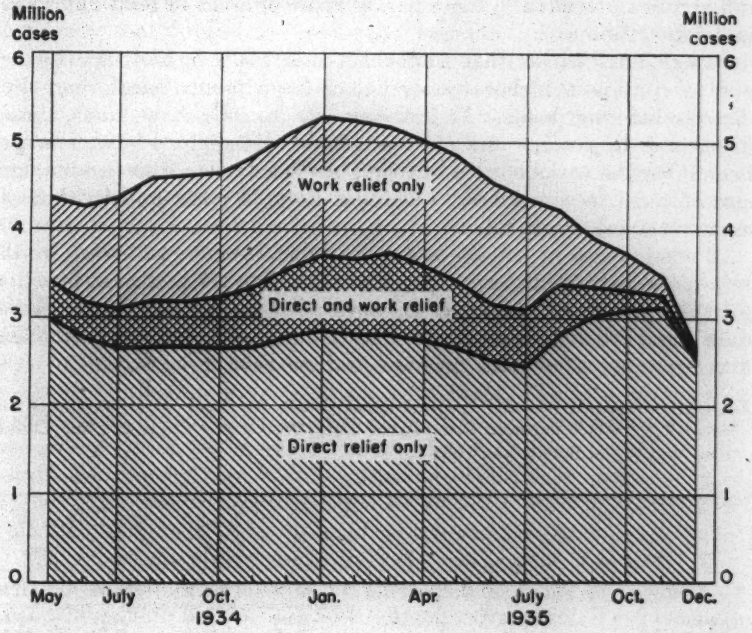
[Continental United States]

Year and month	Net total number	Direct relief only		Work relief only		Both direct and work relief	
		Number	Percent of total	Number	Percent of total	Number	Percent of total
1934							
May	4,360,602	3,000,016	68.8	952,207	21.8	408,379	9.4
June	4,265,763	2,761,792	64.7	1,091,174	25.6	412,797	9.7
July	4,355,536	2,630,666	60.4	1,260,881	28.9	463,989	10.7
August	4,575,387	2,652,048	58.0	1,388,373	30.3	534,966	11.7
September	4,618,844	2,667,994	57.8	1,440,865	31.2	509,985	11.0
October	4,648,599	2,648,490	57.0	1,423,459	30.6	576,650	12.4
November	4,820,669	2,655,813	55.1	1,472,663	30.5	692,193	14.4
December	5,077,845	2,774,415	54.6	1,533,981	30.2	769,449	15.2
1935							
January	5,276,016	2,829,799	53.6	1,573,589	29.8	872,628	16.6
February	5,240,103	2,805,581	53.6	1,578,305	30.1	856,217	16.3
March	5,171,690	2,802,085	54.2	1,438,736	27.8	930,869	18.0
April	5,013,266	2,737,082	54.6	1,434,927	28.6	841,257	16.8
May	4,841,900	2,645,356	54.6	1,427,619	29.5	768,925	15.9
June	4,553,573	2,512,483	55.4	1,378,132	30.4	642,958	14.2
July	4,363,823	2,435,051	55.8	1,280,708	29.3	648,064	14.9
August	4,219,537	2,808,075	66.6	849,408	20.1	562,059	13.3
September	3,909,745	3,020,518	77.2	558,004	14.3	331,223	8.5
October	3,722,735	3,077,726	82.7	414,788	11.1	230,221	6.2
November	3,463,430	3,117,293	90.0	196,774	5.7	149,363	4.3
December	2,609,505	2,550,095	97.7	39,245	1.5	20,165	0.8

Source: Data reported to the FERA by State Emergency Relief Administrations.

It is possible to compare the average benefits for cases receiving direct relief only, work relief only, and both direct and work relief for sample areas only (tables 20 and 21). In table 20, total relief cases in selected rural areas are classified by residence in open country, in villages, and in towns, and separate averages have been computed for each type of area. The average monthly benefit per case receiving work relief only was consistently higher than the average benefit per case receiving direct relief only. The average monthly benefit for cases receiving both direct and work relief was considerably higher than the average for either direct or work relief alone. For example, in February 1935 the average benefit for total cases in the combined

Fig. 7 – NUMBER OF GENERAL RELIEF CASES RECEIVING DIRECT RELIEF AND WORK RELIEF CONTINENTAL UNITED STATES
May 1934 – December 1935



Source: Table 19.

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Table 20.—Average Monthly General Relief Benefit per Case in Rural and Town Areas, by Type of Relief, February and June 1935

[138 counties]

Area	February 1935 [1]				June 1935			
	Total cases	Direct relief only	Work relief only	Both direct and work relief	Total cases	Direct relief only	Work relief only	Both direct and work relief
Total	$16.26	$12.45	$17.13	$22.65	$16.14	$13.08	$15.91	$24.82
Open country [2]	14.48	10.78	15.70	19.98	14.66	12.25	14.07	23.30
Village [3]	18.26	14.37	18.99	25.07	17.73	14.24	18.10	25.97
Town [4]	19.72	15.17	20.21	27.49	18.29	13.21	19.20	27.09

[1] Cases receiving drought relief excluded from February figures because such cases are not included in the June figures.
[2] Outside of places having 50 or more inhabitants in 1930.
[3] A place having 50 to 2,499 inhabitants in 1930.
[4] A place having 2,500 to 4,999 inhabitants in 1930.

Source: Zimmerman, C. C. and Whetten, N. L., *Rural Families on Relief*, Research Monograph XVII, Division of Social Research, Works Progress Administration, Washington, D. C., 1938. See also Mangus, A. R., *Changing Aspects of Rural Relief*, Research Monograph XIV, Division of Social Research, Works Progress Administration, Washington, D. C., 1938.

rural and small-town areas was $16.26. The average monthly benefits per case receiving direct relief only and work relief only were, respectively, $12.45 and $17.13. Cases receiving both direct and work relief during the month had an average benefit of $22.65. Similar differentials prevailed in the separate types of areas in both February and June 1935.

It was noted earlier that work-relief case loads in most areas were apt to contain a higher proportion of large family cases than did direct-relief case loads. It is impossible to tell how much these differences in average size of case influenced the size of the average benefit for the various types of relief, but it is known that the average size of cases receiving work relief was decidedly larger than that of cases receiving direct relief.

A comparison of direct- and work-relief benefits extended in 13 urban areas gives further evidence of the difference in size of benefits for the direct-relief cases and the work-relief cases (table 21). These data are for relief cases closed during July 1935 and represent the average amounts of relief received in June 1935.

Table 21.—Average Monthly General Relief Benefit per Case for Cases Closed in July 1935,[1] Which Received Direct Relief Only, Work Relief Only, and Both Direct and Work Relief During June 1935

[13 cities]

City	Total	Direct relief only	Work relief only	Both direct and work relief
Total	$27.76	$27.18	$31.28	$30.58
Atlanta, Ga.	20.84	12.78	25.38	29.56
Baltimore, Md.	28.37	26.54	52.80	50.04
Bridgeport, Conn.	40.21	21.29	49.64	49.42
Butte, Mont.	28.03	21.45	57.48	†
Chicago, Ill.	31.64	31.56	†	40.31
Detroit, Mich.	28.62	26.21	43.82	17.89
Houston, Tex.	12.27	10.23	15.46	15.37
Manchester, N. H.	19.90	19.46	†	†
Omaha, Nebr.	21.70	16.57	26.07	27.89
Paterson, N. J.	21.10	21.10	†	†
St. Louis, Mo.	19.66	19.11	45.16	†
San Francisco, Calif.	28.93	23.49	25.30	36.62
Wilkes-Barre, Pa.	31.11	30.83	†	†

† Average not computed for fewer than 25 cases.
[1] Data represent the average amount of relief for the 30 days preceding the last payment.

Source: Unpublished data from the Survey of Current Changes in Urban Relief, made by the Division of Social Research, Works Progress Administration, Washington, D. C., 1935.

For all cities combined the average benefit for cases receiving direct relief only was $27.18 and that for cases receiving work relief only was $31.28. The differential in benefits for the two types of cases varied greatly from city to city, but in no case was the average benefit for direct-relief cases as large as that for work-relief cases. In several cities—notably Bridgeport, Butte, and St. Louis—the average work-relief benefit was more than double the average direct-relief benefit. The average benefit per case receiving both direct and work relief

during the month was higher, in several cities, than the average benefit for work-relief cases, but for all cities combined it was slightly lower than the average for work-relief cases.

Regulations provided that work-relief payments under the FERA program were to be governed by the same principle of budgetary deficiency that applied to direct-relief benefits. Hours of work were to be staggered and adjusted in accordance with the needs of the relief case.[1] Not infrequently relief administrations followed a selective policy in the assignment of cases to work-relief projects, giving preference to employables with large families.[2] Budget allowances for these cases were naturally higher and helped to raise the level of work-relief benefits. Slightly higher food estimates, extra clothing allowances, and carfare for the employed worker also led to somewhat larger relief budgets for work-relief cases.

Two other factors, not connected with need, help to explain the higher average benefits for work-relief cases. First, there was the desire on the part of supervisory and administrative officials for efficient operation of work-relief projects and the resultant practice of assigning workers to projects on a per day basis. Thus, a worker who was entitled to only 2 or 3 hours of work to earn the balance of his budgetary allowance might be assigned a full day of work at the established hourly rate. This sometimes resulted in more hours of employment than were necessary for the case to earn the amount of the calculated deficiency. Second, there was the general preference of the American people for work relief as against the dole. This attitude cannot be measured statistically but, either consciously or unconsciously on the part of those administering relief, it led in many areas to the maintenance of a differential in favor of the case on work relief. Differences which exist between the two types of relief are not attributable to the costs of materials and equipment used on work projects, since average benefits are calculated on the basis of obligations incurred for relief extended to cases.

The tendencies for supplementation of private earnings through direct rather than work relief and for the more rapid turnover of direct-relief cases also explain part of the difference between average amounts of relief extended to direct- and work-relief cases. Thus, the lower average does not necessarily indicate a lower standard for direct-relief cases.

[1] It is important, in this connection, to remember the distinction between work relief and employment on Federal work programs. The budgetary deficiency principle did not apply to wages under the CWA, the WPA, and other related agencies.

[2] It should be noted also that small families were less likely to have an employable member, so that even in the absence of a definite selective policy on the part of the relief agency, there tended to be relatively fewer small families in the work-relief case load.

SUPPLEMENTATION OF OTHER INCOME BY RELIEF BENEFITS

Policies of State and local relief administrations determined very largely the extent to which relief would be given to supplement other income. This was one of the most important factors influencing the size of average relief benefits.

It seems probable that a large number of cases were not completely dependent on relief. As has been explained, the budgetary deficiency principle assumed that some cases had other income or resources. It was intended under the FERA that relief be given in sufficient quantity to make up the amount lacking in the budget. In practice, the line between partial and complete dependence upon relief was very hard to draw. Particularly difficult to evaluate were those items of the budget not commonly considered in monetary terms. For example, a displaced tenant farmer might appear at first to be entirely supported from relief funds, but further investigation would reveal that he was living in a house rent free, had a small plot of ground which he might use for a vegetable garden, and was allowed to cut all the firewood he needed. For the city dweller such items would involve a measurable cash outlay and represent an appreciable part of the budget.

Mutual aid among the needy was very common, and help from relatives or friends was often sufficient to reduce considerably the amount of relief required. Recipients of general relief may have received concurrently other forms of public or private assistance, such as aid to the blind, aid to the aged, or aid to dependent children. Usually only certain members of the relief case were eligible to receive this additional assistance. Other relief agencies may have provided types of care for which FERA rules and regulations did not authorize the use of Federal funds. Specialized health and welfare agencies frequently helped to meet problems which fell within the sphere of their particular activities. Occasionally small State or Federal pensions were supplemented by general relief.

A considerable amount of assistance not included in the amount of general relief extended to cases was in the form of surplus commodities made available by the Federal Surplus Commodities Corporation or produced on work projects. Clothing, food, and other goods received from these sources constituted an important source of aid supplementary to the regular relief budget.

Income might also have been derived from some form of self-employment. This was characteristic of farming areas, but it was also to be found in urban areas, where a relief recipient might be engaged in a small business enterprise, such as a tailor shop, grocery store, automobile repair shop, service station, or a rooming house. Even one boarder helped to increase the family income. Such

persons might always have been self-employed or might have been displaced from an industrial occupation during the depression.

The most important form of supplementary relief was given to persons receiving wages from private employment or from odd jobs. This type of assistance was authorized in an early administrative ruling of the FERA,[3] which made it clear that Federal relief funds were to be used not only for the needy unemployed but also for those whose employment or available resources were inadequate to supply the basic necessities for existence. The potential danger that relief might be given to persons with full-time employment, thereby subsidizing employers, prompted the issuance of an administrative letter stating that it was contrary to the policy of the FERA to supplement the wages of full-time employees with relief funds.[4] This ruling could not, of course, prevent the use of State and local funds for this purpose.

Surveys indicate that supplementary benefits were sometimes given to cases containing a full-time employed worker, either because the family was unusually large and income fell below the standard relief budget for a case of such size or because hourly wages were unduly low and did not afford a subsistence wage. In the latter case subsidization of private employment by relief was clearly indicated.

Supplementation of occasional or part-time earnings in accordance with the budgetary deficiency principle was common and was largely a consequence of underemployment or underpayment in private industry.[5]

Prevalence of Nonrelief Earnings

The extent to which relief benefits have been given to supplement private earnings of workers has been ascertained for selected urban areas by surveys undertaken by the FERA. The first of these was a survey made in 79 cities in May 1934,[6] and the second afforded data for selected cases on relief in 13 cities in the month of May 1935.[7]

[3] FERA Rules and Regulations, No. 3, issued July 11, 1933.

[4] AO-18, September 18, 1934. The effect of the ruling is difficult to determine since local relief agencies were allowed wide latitude in the application of policy. FERA Rules and Regulations, No. 8, issued November 6, 1933, pertaining to policies and procedures in the care of transients, emphasized the necessity for careful differentiation between bona fide transients and regular migratory workers in industrialized agricultural and fruit-growing areas in order to prevent subsidization of the employers of such labor.

[5] The problem of supplementary relief and some of the immediate and long-time economic implications of subsidizing private wages by relief are discussed in more detail in the report by Palmer, Gladys L. and Wood, Katherine D., *Urban Workers on Relief*, Research Monograph IV, Part I, Division of Social Research, Works Progress Administration, Washington, D. C., 1936.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] See Carmichael, F. L. and Payne, Stanley L., *The 1935 Relief Population in 13 Cities: A Cross-Section*, Research Bulletin, Series I, No. 23, Division of Social Research, Works Progress Administration, Washington, D. C., December 31, 1936.

The May 1934 survey, which included some cases not yet removed from the relief rolls after obtaining employment, showed that 18 percent of cases on relief rolls had one or more members receiving nonrelief earnings during the month covered.[8] This figure obscures wide variations among cities in the extent of supplementation. It is deemed fairly representative, however, of urban United States for that month, inasmuch as two-thirds of the cities showed between 10 percent and 20 percent of the relief cases with members having some earnings from regular employment.[9] Variations in the proportions of cases receiving supplementary benefits may be due to local differences in standard budgetary allowances and in policies adopted concerning the eligibility of employed workers to receive relief, as well as to differences in local opportunities for occasional or part-time employment.

The amounts of nonrelief earnings reported by employed workers on relief rolls varied greatly. Of those included in the 1934 survey approximately one-third reported earnings of less than $5 per week; 55 percent, less than $9 per week; and 80 percent, less than $15. The median weekly earnings for the group were $7.50, with white workers averaging $9.20 and Negro and other workers, $3.60.[10]

The above averages include both full-time and part-time employment. More than half of those employed while receiving relief were occupying full-time jobs, working at least 30 hours per week. Obviously, very low hourly rates of pay prevailed for most of this group, creating the need for supplementary relief. Approximately half of the persons with nonrelief earnings from either full- or part-time jobs reported hourly rates of less than 30 cents, the minimum rate established for most work relief under the FERA and related work programs; about 30 percent reported earnings of less than 20 cents an hour.[11]

The May 1935 study[12] corroborated the findings of the 1934 survey with regard to the prevalence of supplemental benefits in urban areas, and showed that in May 1935 more than 13 percent of all relief cases had some earnings from regular employment. It disclosed similar wide variations from city to city in the extent of supplementation. The differences shown by these two studies in the extent of nonrelief employment may be partly accounted for by changes in administra-

[8] Palmer, Gladys L. and Wood, Katherine D., *op. cit.*, Part I, p. 61, table 31.
[9] *Ibid.*, Part 2, p. 78.
[10] *Ibid.*, Part I, pp. 73, 81, 159.
[11] *Ibid.*, Part I, p. 161.
[12] The 13 cities included in the May 15, 1935, study were: Atlanta, Ga.; Baltimore, Md.; Bridgeport, Conn.; Butte, Mont.; Chicago, Ill.; Detroit, Mich.; Houston, Tex.; Manchester, N. H.; Omaha, Nebr.; Paterson, N. J.; St. Louis, Mo.; San Francisco, Calif.; and Wilkes-Barre, Pa.

tive policy concerning supplementation and by the inclusion in the first survey of some cases awaiting closing because of private employment, as well as by differences in the areas covered.

Supplementation in Rural Areas

Supplementation takes a form in rural areas that is somewhat different from that in urban areas. Most active farm operators have incomes at some season of the year, unless there has been a severe drought. Once the previous year's crops have been marketed and the proceeds spent, there may be a period during which relief assistance is required. Cash crops and certain types of land tenure accentuate the possibility of seasonal need. Because of the many opportunities for partial self-support, farm operators are seldom as completely dependent on public aid as are farm laborers or city wage workers.

Generally lower relief averages in rural areas may be explained in part by the very high proportion of supplementation. The Appalachian Mountain Region, for example, showed a large proportion of the population on relief and a low average per case. Tenancy in this region is rare and most families are small farm owners who operate subsistence farms. They grow and preserve sufficient food for all year use, but may not have enough cash to pay taxes or buy clothing, shoes, and household necessities.

A survey by the Division of Social Research of the Works Progress Administration indicated that of 43,932 cases receiving relief in 138 counties more than 40 percent were receiving supplementary relief in October 1935. A division of these cases according to residence in open-country areas and in villages showed supplementation for approximately 55 percent of the former group and 21 percent of the latter.[13]

The Size of Case and the Need for Supplementation

A close relationship between the size of case and the need for supplementation of private earnings arises because of the greater budgetary requirements of a large family. Even if one member of the family is earning nonrelief wages, the presence of other unemployed workers in the family may be evidence of underemployment for the group as a whole, necessitating supplementary relief benefits. In many instances the employed person is not the normal head of the relief family, but a wife, daughter, or son working for a low wage.

Relatively more of the large than of the small cases on relief report some earnings from private employment. The proportions of relief

[13] Unpublished data supplied by the Rural Section, Division of Social Research, Works Progress Administration, Washington, D. C.

cases of various sizes reporting some earnings from regular employment in the 13-city survey for May 1935 are shown in table 22. Although more than 13 percent of all cases included in the survey were in receipt of some nonrelief earnings, less than 5 percent of the one-person cases reported such earnings. This percent increased progressively with the number of persons per case. In the sample, 28 percent of relief cases containing eight persons or more were receiving some earnings from private employment.

Table 22.—Number and Percent of General Relief Cases With No Earnings and Cases With Some Earnings From Private Employment, by Size of Case, May 1935 [1]

[13 cities]

Size of case	Total cases	Cases with no earnings from private employment	Cases with some earnings from private employment
Total	8,576	7,428	1,148
1 person	1,924	1,836	88
2 persons	1,841	1,615	226
3 persons	1,474	1,257	217
4 persons	1,232	1,033	199
5 persons	879	735	144
6 persons	500	404	96
7 persons	304	244	60
8 persons or more	422	304	118
	Percent distribution		
Total	100.0	86.6	13.4
1 person	100.0	95.4	4.6
2 persons	100.0	87.7	12.3
3 persons	100.0	85.3	14.7
4 persons	100.0	83.8	16.2
5 persons	100.0	83.6	16.4
6 persons	100.0	80.8	19.2
7 persons	100.0	80.3	19.7
8 persons or more	100.0	72.0	28.0

[1] Sample includes only cases on relief throughout the month.

Source: Carmichael, F. L. and Payne, Stanley L., *The 1935 Relief Population in 15 Cities: A Cross-Section*, Research Bulletin, Series I, No. 23, Division of Social Research, Works Progress Administration, Washington, D. C., December 31, 1936.

Extent of Dependency on Relief

It is not enough to know that a relief case receives both private earnings and relief during the same month, but the relation of those earnings to the amount of relief given should be examined. The relief worker may receive almost all of his budget from public funds and secure only a very little additional income from odd jobs, or he may be working full time at a private job and require only incidental relief for special needs, such as milk, fruit juices, or cod-liver oil. Medical attention may be needed by certain members of his family because of accidents, illnesses, births, etc. Local relief policy is important in determining the extent of such aid.

Some light on the extent of dependency of supplementary relief cases is afforded by the survey of cases on relief in 13 cities throughout May 1935. The actual income of these cases might be somewhat larger than shown in the survey, because only earnings from private employment were recorded.

All degrees of dependency on supplementary relief were represented, with a more or less regular distribution of cases according to the percentage of the total income derived from relief funds. For about 7 percent of the cases with some private earnings, relief constituted less than 10 percent of the family resources for the month. Relief supplied more than half of the total income for about 60 percent of these cases with nonrelief earnings. Table 23 shows the relative importance of private earnings and supplementary relief in the total monthly resources of the 1,093 cases reporting the amount of earnings from private employment in May 1935, and it shows for cases of each size the cumulative percent of cases receiving given proportions of relief.

The relative proportions of cases receiving a given percent of their income from relief varied somewhat from one size of case to another. For example, only slightly more than 1 percent of the one-person cases received as little as 10 percent of their monthly income from relief, as contrasted with over 26 percent of the cases containing eight

Table 23.—Number and Cumulative Percent of General Relief Cases With Some Private Employment Earnings, by Relative Amount of Relief and by Size of Case, May 1935 [1]

[13 cities]

Relief as percent of relief plus earnings from private employment	Total cases	Size of case							
		1 person	2 persons	3 persons	4 persons	5 persons	6 persons	7 persons	8 persons or more
Number	[2] 1,093	82	218	209	188	138	88	57	113
	Cumulative percent								
Percent [3]	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Less than 90 percent	95.1	95.1	94.5	95.2	95.7	95.7	94.3	93.0	93.6
Less than 80 percent	83.3	87.8	83.0	82.8	84.0	84.8	77.3	80.7	85.0
Less than 70 percent	70.1	75.6	68.3	67.9	67.6	71.7	60.3	63.2	79.6
Less than 60 percent	54.7	64.6	50.9	48.3	58.5	57.2	52.3	43.9	64.6
Less than 50 percent	40.1	47.6	31.2	31.6	47.3	44.2	42.0	20.8	54.0
Less than 40 percent	30.0	35.4	23.9	23.9	35.1	30.4	28.4	19.3	46.9
Less than 30 percent	21.4	15.9	16.1	15.3	26.6	28.2	18.2	13.8	41.6
Less than 20 percent	12.7	7.3	7.3	7.7	17.0	13.0	9.1	10.5	32.7
Less than 10 percent	7.2	1.2	2.3	4.8	6.9	6.5	5.7	10.5	26.5

[1] Sample includes only cases on relief throughout the month.
[2] 55 cases with some private employment whose earnings were not reported have been omitted in the totals and in the percent computation.
[3] Includes a small percent receiving 90 percent or more from relief.

Source: Unpublished data from the published study by Carmichael, F. L. and Payne, Stanley L., *The 1935 Relief Population in 13 Cities: A Cross-Section*, Research Bulletin, Series I, No. 23, Division of Social Research, Works Progress Administration, Washington, D. C., December 31, 1936.

persons or more. This circumstance is probably due in large part to the reluctance of relief agencies to admit to the relief rolls an unattached person whose earnings so nearly approximated the relief budget. The difference between the proportions of small and of large cases receiving a given percent of total income in the form of relief tends to diminish as relief becomes a more significant portion of the total (table 23).

The actual amounts of relief given are, of course, smaller for cases with some private employment than for cases entirely dependent on relief funds. For the supplemented group also the average relief benefit increases with the size of the relief case [14] while the amount of relief per person decreases. The average amounts of relief received by both types of cases on relief throughout the entire month of May 1935 are shown in table 24, which gives for each group the average benefits received by cases consisting of one, two, three, four, five, six, seven, and eight persons or more, respectively, as well as the average amount per person in the case. The unattached person with no nonrelief earnings received relief averaging $13.10 during May 1935, while the average amount for each member of a seven-person case was $7.30. For cases with earnings from private employment the average benefit per one-person case was $9.90 and that per individual in a seven-person case was $5.90.

The relative total amounts available to the two types of cases during the month are more significant than the relative sizes of the monthly relief benefits received by cases with nonrelief earnings and by cases wholly dependent on relief. On a strictly budgetary deficiency basis for relief, there would be no pronounced difference in the estimated budgets for cases of the same size in the two groups,[15] and supplementary relief would serve only to make up the deficiency between private resources and the calculated relief budget. The total amount for subsistence would thus tend to be equalized for families of comparable size, regardless of the source of income. Actually, many relief agencies found it desirable to adopt a policy by which persons with nonrelief employment were allowed to retain part of their earnings without having the full amount deducted from the budgetary allowance. This policy, which was by no means universal, was intended to encourage relief cases to accept and retain private jobs even when they were on a part-time basis or for only a short period of time. This policy was frequently followed when the wage earner was not the normal head of the household, but perhaps

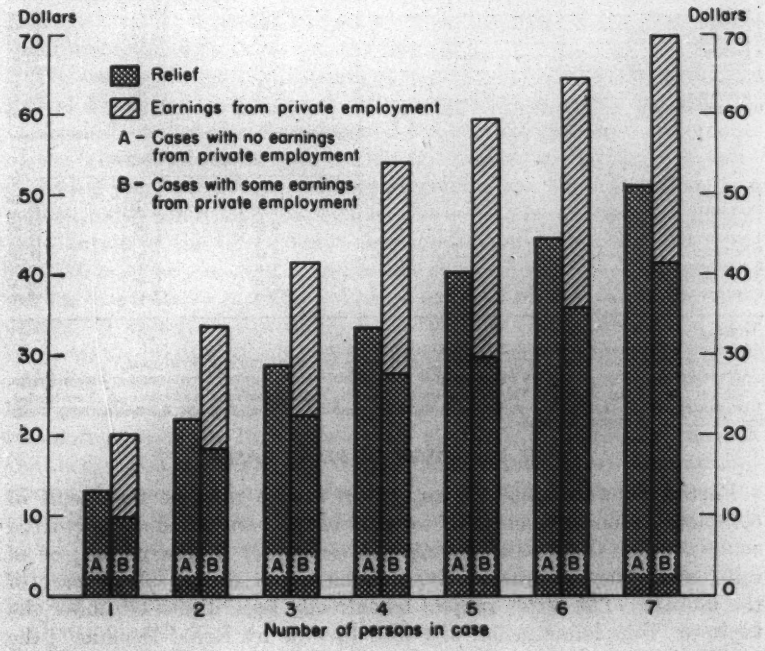
[14] See p. 41 for data on those cases with no earnings from private employment.

[15] Allowances for transportation, lunches, and clothing needs of an employed member of the relief case may require somewhat larger budgetary estimates for cases receiving supplementary relief.

a son or daughter contributing to the family support. In such instances the total income for the relief case might, and on the average did, exceed the normal relief budget for a family of the same size. For cases receiving supplementary relief in 13 cities in May 1935, two-thirds of the private earnings, on the average, accrued to the case as additional income above that of a nonsupplemented case.

The administrative policy described above helps to explain the fact that the average amounts of relief plus earnings received by cases with some private employment were substantially higher than the average amounts of relief received by cases wholly dependent upon relief. This is shown graphically in figure 8 for cases covered by the sample urban data for May 1935. Adjacent columns, labeled A and B, respectively, for each size of case, represent the average amounts available for subsistence during the month for those relief cases with

Fig 8 - AVERAGE MONTHLY GENERAL RELIEF BENEFIT TO CASES WITH NO EARNINGS AND TO CASES WITH SOME EARNINGS FROM PRIVATE EMPLOYMENT BY SIZE OF CASE, 13 CITIES
May 1935



Source: Table 24.

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no earnings from private employment and those with some earnings. Column B is in each instance divided to show the relative proportion of income derived from relief and from nonrelief earnings by those cases reporting some private employment.

Greater monthly incomes for cases receiving supplementary relief prevailed for every size of case. The amounts available per person were substantially higher for those cases having some nonrelief earnings, with the advantage relatively greater for members of small families than for those of large families (table 24).

Table 24.—Average [1] Monthly General Relief Benefit to Cases With No Earnings and to Cases With Some Earnings From Private Employment, and Average Amount of Relief Plus Earnings for Cases With Some Earnings, by Size of Case, May 1935 [2]

[13 cities]

Size of case	Average [1] amount of relief		Average [1] amount of relief plus earnings, cases with some earnings from private employment
	Cases with no earnings from private employment	Cases with some earnings from private employment	
	Amount per case		
1 person	$13.10	$9.90	$20.10
2 persons	22.00	18.30	33.50
3 persons	28.70	22.30	41.50
4 persons	33.30	27.60	53.90
5 persons	40.20	29.70	59.30
6 persons	44.40	35.80	64.40
7 persons	51.00	41.30	69.70
8 persons or more	61.90	48.30	85.80
	Amount [3] per person		
1 person	13.10	9.90	20.10
2 persons	11.00	9.20	16.80
3 persons	9.60	7.40	13.80
4 persons	8.30	6.90	13.50
5 persons	8.00	5.90	11.90
6 persons	7.40	6.00	10.70
7 persons	7.30	5.90	10.00
8 persons or more	[4] 7.00	[4] 5.40	[4] 9.50

[1] Mean.
[2] Sample includes only cases on relief throughout the month.
[3] Computed by using figures in upper part of table and rounding to the nearest 10 cents.
[4] Families of different sizes were represented in proportion to their number in computing these averages.

Source: Carmichael, F. L. and Payne, Stanley L., *The 1935 Relief Population in 13 Cities: A Cross-Section*, Research Bulletin, Series I, No. 23, Division of Social Research, Works Progress Administration, Washington, D. C., December 31, 1936.

THE TURNOVER OF RELIEF CASES

Partial relief benefits for any given month may be the result of complete dependence on relief for part of the period and support from sources other than relief during the remainder of the period; or of relief and other income received concurrently during all or part of the month. The latter subject has already been discussed under the topic of "Supplementation of Other Income by Relief Benefits"; the former, involving turnover of the relief case load, will now be examined.

Both types of partial benefits tend to lower the amount of the average; hence substantial changes may occur in the average without any actual change in relief standards.

It is apparent that the average amount will be reduced if any significant number of cases receive relief for a period less than a whole calendar month. A case is included in the count whether it received aid for only 1 day or for the full month. However, the total amount received will be much smaller in the former instance. A rapid expansion or contraction of relief operations will normally result in an increase in the proportion of partial benefits and a decline in the average relief benefit per case.

A movement of cases to and from the relief rolls occurs because of changes either in family income or in family needs and because of administrative policies. This movement generally continues throughout each calendar month. Hence, data on the relative number of cases added to or removed from the relief rolls are indicative of the proportion that did not receive relief during the entire month. However, such figures do not provide a perfect measure of the influence of partial-month benefits on the relief average because they give no indication of the length of time various cases received aid. The same accession rate might be accompanied by diverse effects upon the average benefit, depending upon whether the bulk of the case movement occurred early or late in the month.

The extent of monthly movement to and from relief rolls during the period February 1934 through November 1935 is shown in table 25. It should be noted that openings and closings are expressed as percents of the total cases under care during the month, including both those receiving relief payments and those receiving service only. The data reflect local conditions as well as Nation-wide changes in policy. Liquidation of the Civil Works Administration during the early part of 1934 is clearly shown by accession rates of more than 20 percent during 3 successive months. Almost one-half of all cases were either opened or closed in April 1934. During the remainder of the year there was a gradual decline in both openings and closings, the latter reaching a low point in December. With the improvement of business conditions during 1935 the accession rate declined still further, remaining less than 10 percent each month from February through October. The ordinary local causes for case movement were present during this period, but no Nation-wide changes of policy were felt until the latter part of the year when extensive transfers were made to the WPA and related Federal agencies. As a result of these transfers the rate of closing increased each month after July, reaching 23.4 percent in November.

Opening and closing rates in 1936 are available for only some of the States. Although these were States in which there was less

Table 25.—Number and Percent of Open General Relief Cases [1] Which Were Opened or Closed During the Month, February 1934–November 1935

[Continental United States]

Year and month	Total cases open during the month [2]	Cases opened during the month		Cases closed during the month	
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1934					
February	3,567,382	736,803	20.7	493,121	13.8
March	4,108,467	1,016,494	24.7	724,087	17.6
April	4,983,376	1,682,910	33.8	664,303	13.3
May	5,079,693	834,500	16.4	771,419	15.2
June	5,006,169	645,760	12.9	624,392	12.5
July	5,029,509	665,494	13.2	542,124	10.8
August	5,233,161	758,729	14.5	533,503	10.2
September	5,362,813	658,638	12.3	545,619	10.2
October	5,469,647	641,677	11.7	628,355	11.5
November	5,483,649	635,248	11.6	474,327	8.6
December	5,679,985	660,411	11.6	400,718	7.1
1935					
January	5,899,679	638,711	10.8	505,404	8.6
February	5,852,708	487,093	8.3	483,585	8.2
March	5,965,047	443,155	7.6	540,751	9.2
April	5,768,091	444,589	7.7	547,242	9.5
May	5,393,464	384,027	7.1	480,725	8.9
June	5,219,364	334,301	6.4	532,362	11.2
July	4,962,428	363,194	7.3	499,031	10.1
August	4,854,982	379,185	7.8	553,439	11.4
September	4,610,277	310,529	6.7	618,625	13.4
October	4,372,547	386,313	8.8	707,616	16.2
November	4,080,355	423,573	10.4	955,582	23.4

[1] Data include general relief and rural rehabilitation cases through April 1935 and general relief cases only for subsequent months. Data are partially estimated for some States.

[2] Includes cases carried over from preceding month as well as those opened during the current month.

Source: Data reported to the FERA by State Emergency Relief Administrations.

interruption of relief operations than in others, the figures for the first 6 months were substantially higher than for the previous year.[16] To some extent the increases were due to reorganization of State relief activities and the development of the public-assistance programs of the Social Security Board. In addition it is evident that relief agencies, in certifying persons for WPA employment, accepted many cases for temporary care until earnings were received.

Regional variations in the rates of opening and of closing relief cases were significant, particularly during the period when the Civil Works Program was contracting and when the WPA program was expanding. These variations were doubtless related to the fact that national changes did not go into effect at precisely the same time in various parts of the country.

Monthly rates of opening and of closing general relief cases in 70 urban areas and in the remainder of the United States, from February 1934 through November 1935, are shown in table 26. It appears that in every month case movement was less rapid in these

[16] See monthly bulletins of the State relief agencies in California, Idaho, Indiana, Iowa, Michigan, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Utah, and Wisconsin and bulletins of local relief agencies in Chicago, Ill., and Denver County, Colo.

70 cities than in the remainder of the country. The higher opening and closing rates outside the urban areas probably reflect the greater seasonality of rural labor. In the country there are more or less regular periods for the planting, cultivation, and harvesting of crops. Case loads in rural areas are also much affected by natural phenomena, such as droughts, floods, tornadoes, hailstorms, and insect pests. Urban case loads are responsive to general business and industrial conditions, which change gradually from time to time but usually in a longer cycle than agricultural employment. Urban families once on relief are likely to remain so more continuously, since there is less opportunity for partial self-support. Changes in the total number of cases receiving relief are usually much less abrupt in the city than in the country. The relatively slow turnover in the urban case load undoubtedly contributes to the larger average relief benefits prevailing in such areas.

Table 26.—Rate of Opening and Closing General Relief Cases in the United States, in Urban Areas of the United States, and in the United States Excluding These Urban Areas, February 1934–November 1935 [1]

[Continental United States]

Year and month	Rate of opening cases			Rate of closing cases		
	United States	Urban areas	United States excluding urban areas	United States	Urban areas	United States excluding urban areas
1934						
February	20.7	16.6	22.8	13.8	9.9	15.9
March	24.7	19.6	27.3	17.6	12.4	20.2
April	33.8	31.1	35.2	13.3	9.0	16.7
May	16.4	12.2	18.8	15.2	11.9	17.0
June	12.9	9.6	14.7	12.5	9.6	14.0
July	13.2	9.3	15.3	10.8	8.7	11.9
August	14.5	10.5	16.5	10.2	7.8	11.4
September	12.3	9.8	13.5	10.2	6.7	11.9
October	11.7	9.6	12 8	11.5	7.7	13.4
November	11.6	9.0	12.9	8.6	6.3	9.8
December	11.6	8.9	13.0	7.1	5.7	7.7
1935						
January	10.8	8.4	12.0	8.6	6.9	9.4
February	8.3	6.5	9.2	8.2	6.3	9.2
March	7.6	6.3	8.2	9.2	7.3	10.2
April	7.7	5.8	8.7	9.5	7.1	10.7
May	7.1	5.6	8.0	8.9	7.0	10.0
June	6.4	5.4	7.0	11.2	8.3	12.8
July	7.3	5.9	8.2	10.1	6.8	12.0
August	7.8	6.8	8.5	11.4	8.5	13.2
September	6.7	5.7	7.4	13.4	11.6	14.6
October	8.8	7.0	10.0	16.2	15.5	16.6
November	10.4	8.4	11.6	23.4	18.9	26.2

[1] Data for continental United States are partially estimated. The figures for urban areas pertain to 70 areas for which reports on case movement were received for each month.

Source: Data reported to the FERA by State Emergency Relief Administrations.

Changes in local relief policies were another factor influencing case turnover. Local circumstances of all types affected the case movement. Shortage of funds frequently resulted in drastic temporary reductions of the case load and sometimes caused a stoppage of all

relief for short periods. Periodic reinvestigation of cases might cause a high rate of turnover. Administrative closing of large segments of the case load sometimes occurred in areas where seasonal work opportunities were believed to exist. Additional relief funds might result in opening a large number of cases for supplemental relief.

NUMBER OF PAY-ROLL PERIODS IN A MONTH

Month-to-month variations in average relief benefits are influenced by the purely technical factor of the number of pay-roll periods reported for work-relief cases. Earnings on work relief were usually reported according to the number of pay-roll periods ending within a given month. When work-relief earnings were paid on a weekly basis 4 weeks were included in some months and 5 weeks in other months. When a considerable proportion of all relief was extended in the form of work relief the average was distorted by this factor.

The average benefit data which appear in table 27 show the effect of an additional pay-roll period in the month of May 1935. Averages for April and June of that year are quite similar in size, and there is reason to believe that a large proportion of the May differential was due to the inclusion of five pay-roll periods.

Table 27.—Average Monthly General Relief Benefit per Case, for Selected Months Having Different Numbers of Pay-Roll Periods, by Selected Cities, 1935 [1]

City	April	May	June
Birmingham, Ala.	$17.81	$21.72	$16.80
Montgomery, Ala.	17.81	21.58	18.00
Los Angeles, Calif.	35.09	41.09	34.83
Kansas City, Kans.	25.35	29.71	25.70
Detroit, Mich.	36.57	39.33	33.02
Charleston, W. Va.	16.68	20.33	18.17
Burlington, Vt.	30.63	36.59	30.39

[1] April and June data cover 4 weekly pay-roll periods, whereas May figures include 5. Figures for Birmingham, Montgomery, and Los Angeles cover, in each case, the entire county in which the city is located.

Source: Data reported to the FERA by State Emergency Relief Administrations.

Appendixes

Appendix A

SUPPLEMENTARY TABLES

Table 1.—Amount of General Relief and Percent of Benefits in Cash and in Kind, by State, by 6-Month Period, July 1934–June 1935

[Amounts in thousands of dollars]

Region and State	July–December 1934			January–June 1935		
	General relief	Percent in cash	Percent in kind	General relief	Percent in cash	Percent in kind
United States	$684,010	57.05	42.95	$802,387	62.45	37.55
New England:						
Maine	3,982	60.79	39.21	4,170	53.40	46.60
New Hampshire	1,537	33.68	66.32	2,480	45.38	54.62
Vermont	885	74.74	25.26	1,483	77.62	22.38
Massachusetts	37,635	84.81	15.19	47,091	85.22	14.78
Rhode Island	3,411	83.87	16.13	3,854	79.92	20.08
Connecticut	8,240	54.39	45.61	10,845	58.58	41.42
Middle Atlantic:						
New York	128,945	71.57	28.43	142,185	68.21	31.79
New Jersey	27,533	50.41	49.59	29,441	59.78	40.22
Pennsylvania	64,790	25.67	74.33	98,980	56.22	43.78
East North Central:						
Ohio	39,431	33.48	66.52	46,784	42.54	57.46
Indiana	16,062	65.11	34.89	18,453	59.20	40.80
Illinois	52,335	32.04	67.96	56,864	32.75	67.25
Michigan	31,500	53.32	46.68	30,510	52.48	47.52
Wisconsin	19,892	45.36	54.64	21,697	33.45	66.55
West North Central:						
Minnesota	18,314	46.45	53.55	19,885	57.73	42.27
Iowa	6,628	52.46	47.54	8,256	53.58	46.42
Missouri	13,901	43.70	56.30	16,721	40.08	59.92
North Dakota	5,636	38.30	61.70	7,325	46.91	53.09
South Dakota	9,813	91.60	8.40	7,757	91.73	8.27
Nebraska	4,957	37.93	62.07	6,925	51.81	48.19
Kansas	8,426	89.94	10.06	11,383	91.00	9.00
South Atlantic:						
Delaware	596	8.68	91.32	589	40.49	59.51
Maryland	7,443	64.03	35.97	7,810	82.14	17.86
District of Columbia	3,552	88.99	11.01	3,729	90.74	9.26
Virginia	2,649	51.94	48.06	4,485	83.56	16.44
West Virginia	7,641	70.12	29.88	8,456	95.15	4.85
North Carolina	5,106	60.05	39.95	5,766	69.28	30.72
South Carolina	4,903	74.92	25.08	3,365	73.45	26.55
Georgia	7,173	57.57	42.43	7,645	79.24	20.76
Florida	7,624	80.25	19.75	4,664	84.39	15.61

Table 1.—Amount of General Relief and Percent of Benefits in Cash and in Kind, by State, by 6-Month Period, July 1934–June 1935—Continued

[Amounts in thousands of dollars]

Region and State	July–December 1934			January–June 1935		
	General relief	Percent in cash	Percent in kind	General relief	Percent in cash	Percent in kind
East South Central:						
Kentucky	$5,526	47.65	52.35	$7,328	62.30	37.70
Tennessee	5,094	52.99	47.01	7,076	60.55	39.45
Alabama	7,445	76.82	23.18	6,308	84.28	15.72
Mississippi	4,487	61.23	38.77	4,301	74.92	25.08
West South Central:						
Arkansas	5,538	52.07	47.93	5,178	63.24	36.76
Louisiana	6,318	86.25	13.75	7,728	94.22	5.78
Oklahoma	8,248	93.14	6.86	7,286	92.96	7.04
Texas	18,649	55.48	44.52	19,872	59.38	40.62
Mountain:						
Montana	4,496	41.90	58.10	4,809	27.01	72.99
Idaho	2,624	91.40	8.60	2,928	76.51	23.49
Wyoming	1,203	79.72	20.28	1,230	70.52	29.48
Colorado	8,498	60.39	39.61	9,862	60.98	39.02
New Mexico	3,134	62.66	37.34	2,742	39.15	60.85
Arizona	2,784	65.01	34.99	2,917	70.68	29.32
Utah	4,244	59.74	40.26	4,351	47.82	52.18
Nevada	787	77.25	22.75	902	88.03	11.97
Pacific:						
Washington	6,168	35.28	64.72	7,738	22.18	77.82
Oregon	4,467	56.29	43.71	5,377	62.98	37.02
California	33,501	77.36	22.64	54,956	90.36	9.64

Source: Data reported to the FERA by State Emergency Relief Administrations.

Table 2.—Average Monthly General Relief Benefit per Case and per Nonfamily Case, by State, Selected Months, 1934–1935

Region and State	July 1934		October 1934		January 1935		April 1935		July 1935		October 1935	
	Per case	Per nonfamily case	Per case	Per nonfamily case	Per case	Per nonfamily case	Per case	Per nonfamily case	Per case	Per nonfamily case	Per case	Per nonfamily case
New England:												
Maine	$34.15	$21.64	$37.03	$20.28	$35.71	$20.78	$29.84	$20.54	$23.79	$18.57	$25.14	$17.86
New Hampshire	23.72	16.22	30.88	16.53	25.52	15.45	31.04	18.32	28.35	17.92	28.97	14.46
Vermont	24.09	8.27	25.53	10.65	28.05	9.51	27.21	9.60	21.57	8.08	15.77	8.80
Massachusetts	34.43	19.46	36.95	19.18	43.52	18.37	41.00	18.23	40.82	19.10	42.86	20.27
Rhode Island	28.75	11.29	28.95	12.88	39.90	16.01	31.47	12.66	29.58	12.92	33.17	14.25
Connecticut	30.75	12.28	32.98	13.46	40.12	18.87	41.05	16.05	42.25	17.12	40.02	16.84
Middle Atlantic:												
New York	41.61	18.92	42.64	19.43	42.93	19.43	41.18	19.38	43.47	21.32	37.13	20.35
New Jersey	27.97	10.98	32.87	17.09	30.04	14.84	28.21	14.18	28.65	15.17	29.01	15.28
Pennsylvania	23.29	(1)	26.13	8.02	37.92	15.36	35.51	14.99	33.42	15.28	32.26	15.11
East North Central:												
Ohio	20.78	6.24	20.95	7.45	26.54	8.99	22.98	8.11	26.74	9.69	19.05	8.58
Indiana	20.92	6.69	26.27	9.95	26.21	10.28	25.36	10.05	19.92	9.02	14.11	9.47
Illinois	26.40	2.99	27.02	8.04	33.24	6.91	29.34	5.35	28.92	14.53	27.03	9.92
Michigan	25.67	7.50	29.06	9.61	29.82	11.15	26.52	11.14	26.54	11.09	27.32	11.03
Wisconsin	31.60	7.98	33.35	12.14	31.92	9.92	29.95	8.91	30.09	9.08	25.84	10.48
West North Central:												
Minnesota	21.06	7.79	27.23	13.91	31.93	16.98	28.74	15.83	28.59	16.27	26.97	14.99
Iowa	17.61	7.78	20.11	9.82	23.98	9.93	21.84	9.89	21.19	10.17	24.15	11.34
Missouri	12.78	4.41	15.52	8.83	18.95	8.77	17.18	8.38	17.23	9.56	15.88	8.94
North Dakota	20.67	15.90	26.89	18.69	28.03	18.55	27.65	17.57	21.73	18.51	24.47	17.01
South Dakota	22.22	12.14	26.94	15.21	24.00	13.88	21.70	11.95	22.06	12.74	22.59	12.51
Nebraska	17.15	6.18	21.04	8.32	24.23	10.66	24.25	11.13	22.28	11.16	24.15	11.89
Kansas	17.39	8.17	18.53	10.17	25.23	12.15	21.86	10.44	20.48	10.54	20.18	10.60
South Atlantic:												
Delaware	19.62	4.82	21.10	3.97	21.19	3.66	17.92	4.27	22.16	6.48	19.65	6.37
Maryland	26.75	8.50	29.57	12.92	30.59	14.43	27.47	13.80	28.80	13.31	27.82	13.42
District of Columbia	24.14	9.79	29.05	21.38	30.43	16.93	27.54	19.63	33.08	15.11	33.21	14.07
Virginia	10.53	5.44	11.80	6.21	13.59	8.31	16.34	8.65	17.15	11.04	15.95	9.01
West Virginia	14.36	9.89	15.66	9.68	17.98	11.24	15.08	9.64	12.79	8.79	14.44	10.23
North Carolina	10.02	5.00	11.32	6.46	14.55	9.75	13.62	10.50	14.14	10.96	14.29	11.68
South Carolina	10.02	7.02	12.47	8.61	10.71	7.71	8.92	5.56	11.91	8.21	8.24	6.54
Georgia	12.57	7.73	13.10	8.11	14.62	11.23	16.25	11.43	16.16	12.48	19.13	16.29
Florida	13.09	7.94	14.00	11.27	13.48	9.90	12.94	10.89	10.08	10.25	10.17	9.62

Table 2.—Average Monthly General Relief Benefit per Case and Nonfamily Case, by State, Selected Months, 1934–1935—Continued

Region and State	July 1934		October 1934		January 1935		April 1935		July 1935		October 1935	
	Per case	Per nonfamily case	Per case	Per nonfamily case	Per case	Per nonfamily case	Per case	Per nonfamily case	Per case	Per nonfamily case	Per case	Per nonfamily case
East South Central:												
Kentucky	$7.68	$4.02	$9.55	$5.62	$11.04	$7.54	$10.75	$6.63	$10.01	$7.77	$9.70	$5.82
Tennessee	15.32	7.10	8.90	6.01	14.51	14.89	16.53	11.04	11.56	10.53	9.39	7.93
Alabama	12.39	6.98	12.80	8.02	17.33	9.81	16.69	10.37	17.06	10.88	15.37	9.34
Mississippi	10.45	7.36	9.44	6.39	12.83	9.05	12.16	7.75	12.19	8.89	13.34	9.73
West South Central:												
Arkansas	12.23	7.54	15.68	5.97	12.33	7.59	13.24	9.81	15.65	7.84	12.92	9.96
Louisiana	21.84	12.57	23.62	14.29	25.98	19.01	26.89	19.92	25.53	19.54	17.84	13.84
Oklahoma	7.23	4.23	10.16	5.90	10.98	5.95	7.38	3.54	8.67	4.65	10.20	4.38
Texas	10.53	5.78	12.55	6.92	16.17	8.13	13.88	7.70	13.06	7.47	10.51	6.56
Mountain:												
Montana	22.85	14.02	27.93	15.19	31.86	16.06	23.47	11.63	23.36	10.21	22.55	10.43
Idaho	13.99	6.95	22.70	10.61	23.10	12.24	19.05	9.20	21.51	11.20	20.49	12.81
Wyoming	22.38	10.69	34.08	15.06	22.55	12.45	20.78	13.06	30.63	20.33	17.30	14.72
Colorado	23.73	9.16	22.51	10.38	27.92	14.93	24.23	13.95	25.66	14.16	25.54	14.26
New Mexico	21.03	6.01	15.42	6.69	20.92	8.86	13.91	7.41	11.86	7.44	10.15	6.03
Arizona	15.16	10.84	17.97	12.23	17.99	11.79	21.71	13.52	22.25	14.07	21.26	13.26
Utah	19.56	8.16	27.40	11.18	27.07	10.86	24.38	9.61	21.89	9.03	21.04	9.40
Nevada	26.38	20.28	33.82	27.93	36.85	21.09	36.04	22.63	38.23	25.58	24.28	15.45
Pacific:												
Washington	18.43	7.13	16.81	6.42	21.94	8.61	20.35	7.64	20.32	7.80	21.88	8.45
Oregon	21.81	9.77	24.40	13.56	27.38	11.89	22.00	10.69	24.38	13.02	21.96	11.11
California	25.28	9.90	28.17	13.36	35.43	19.47	34.99	15.96	38.20	17.92	40.42	19.49
Lower Quartile	13.54	6.82	15.47	7.74	17.66	9.02	16.44	8.78	16.69	9.03	14.91	9.18
Median	20.92	7.96	23.62	10.38	25.52	11.24	22.98	10.89	22.16	11.09	21.26	11.11
Upper Quartile	24.71	10.91	29.00	14.10	31.23	15.75	28.48	14.59	28.73	15.23	27.00	14.59

Source: Data reported to the FERA by State Emergency Relief Administrations.

Table 3.—Average Monthly General Relief Benefit Per Family Case, by State, July 1933–December 1935

State	1933					
	July	August	September	October	November	December
United States	$15.45	$16.33	$17.34	$19.05	$18.51	$17.67
Alabama	5.19	7.42	7.34	10.06	10.53	8.43
Arizona	10.20	10.76	11.87	13.88	20.07	14.33
Arkansas	6.44	5.42	6.20	8.97	8.73	9.26
California	18.76	19.09	19.44	19.62	18.72	12.31
Colorado	10.56	11.79	11.95	10.61	13.94	16.24
Connecticut	21.30	23.32	22.72	24.70	24.77	20.67
Delaware	19.65	21.70	22.31	21.90	22.05	26.51
District of Columbia	20.00	21.53	17.71	21.57	18.25	25.22
Florida	5.56	6.53	8.82	11.92	11.08	5.18
Georgia	5.86	8.76	10.13	13.49	12.15	12.26
Idaho	14.07	12.58	11.22	11.70	13.64	12.60
Illinois	20.92	22.44	24.80	26.84	23.46	24.49
Indiana	12.59	12.84	13.28	15.47	13.74	12.00
Iowa	12.90	13.50	13.94	16.85	15.06	10.77
Kansas	9.25	9.88	10.08	11.31	7.36	9.02
Kentucky	6.64	7.71	5.88	7.18	9.37	9.38
Louisiana	13.89	15.73	15.41	15.41	14.67	13.36
Maine	26.21	30.67	30.30	27.36	28.37	28.48
Maryland	22.26	28.99	27.51	30.91	27.94	29.24
Massachusetts	32.27	35.03	31.63	31.22	32.99	29.16
Michigan	19.80	21.16	21.66	23.72	23.35	16.09
Minnesota	16.46	18.24	18.33	20.84	24.88	19.15
Mississippi	3.87	4.87	6.89	7.65	10.44	10.13
Missouri	14.76	18.44	9.97	14.68	14.18	16.04
Montana	13.31	14.28	15.08	15.38	17.52	14.67
Nebraska	6.55	12.25	11.07	12.56	17.12	14.03
Nevada	13.63	15.41	18.04	18.27	16.64	13.71
New Hampshire	10.06	14.39	13.84	15.59	16.39	19.64
New Jersey	19.86	22.48	22.91	23.78	25.52	24.99
New Mexico	4.37	4.93	4.57	5.57	6.16	12.00
New York	30.59	32.39	33.35	37.16	32.77	30.58
North Carolina	7.64	7.27	7.41	8.75	7.89	7.73
North Dakota	13.32	16.42	16.13	16.26	18.31	16.43
Ohio	15.70	17.07	18.52	19.92	18.89	19.28
Oklahoma	4.31	4.72	5.52	5.84	6.15	7.20
Oregon	14.19	12.87	11.44	14.34	14.14	13.17
Pennsylvania	[1] 15.36	[1] 15.99	[1] 16.53	[1] 17.66	[1] 20.12	[1] 20.20
Rhode Island	23.54	23.88	25.07	26.79	17.70	17.73
South Carolina	5.61	6.89	7.98	10.18	8.31	5.06
South Dakota	14.17	13.98	14.49	18.07	19.36	13.31
Tennessee	5.87	6.60	7.47	8.45	7.78	6.44
Texas	6.93	8.02	8.35	8.59	9.93	8.17
Utah	9.85	11.73	13.46	15.39	14.66	13.95
Vermont	20.94	23.41	21.43	21.52	19.42	14.95
Virginia	6.94	7.50	7.73	8.60	6.85	6.51
Washington	15.96	13.78	14.68	17.90	18.55	16.71
West Virginia	9.22	9.14	12.25	12.95	11.13	10.67
Wisconsin	21.87	23.53	23.47	23.77	24.74	18.40
Wyoming	11.93	9.07	10.52	12.11	11.81	10.16

See footnote at end of table.

Table 3.—Average Monthly General Relief Benefit per Family Case, by State, July 1933–December 1935—Continued

State	1934					
	January	February	March	April	May	June
United States	$17.38	$17.34	$18.23	$22.51	$24.54	$23.84
Alabama	7.94	7.35	8.74	8.78	11.33	12.34
Arizona	15.51	16.90	15.08	15.78	19.69	18.92
Arkansas	9.28	6.55	8.14	5.00	13.29	12.90
California	17.93	19.16	20.39	19.97	24.71	26.57
Colorado	5.78	11.54	13.01	17.08	26.50	25.80
Connecticut	18.61	19.30	20.66	27.49	35.73	29.58
Delaware	26.04	21.97	22.32	13.11	16.95	19.68
District of Columbia	15.50	19.43	27.64	35.71	36.00	33.34
Florida	6.64	6.96	11.00	19.14	11.71	13.20
Georgia	11.95	11.12	10.72	12.57	14.58	14.38
Idaho	13.61	13.33	12.23	15.32	20.57	14.66
Illinois	22.45	22.05	25.85	22.54	26.81	27.65
Indiana	12.54	12.92	13.40	16.15	22.67	22.38
Iowa	12.73	12.42	13.06	13.38	16.13	16.26
Kansas	11.12	11.02	12.89	14.32	17.11	15.42
Kentucky	10.58	8.94	6.91	6.44	7.22	6.40
Louisiana	18.46	6.58	10.34	22.56	21.88	20.96
Maine	32.18	28.91	29.94	37.69	38.61	39.58
Maryland	25.56	23.87	28.05	26.61	33.70	29.60
Massachusetts	29.91	29.25	32.38	34.35	43.61	36.90
Michigan	15.90	17.58	19.91	21.66	28.17	26.58
Minnesota	20.78	17.84	13.65	17.33	17.71	23.52
Mississippi	9.28	8.55	9.15	9.44	11.04	11.16
Missouri	12.66	11.63	10.48	14.55	14.89	14.00
Montana	15.30	15.60	15.35	25.30	26.88	27.33
Nebraska	15.68	13.99	16.52	21.48	28.06	16.52
Nevada	14.22	14.85	14.70	17.30	37.06	29.37
New Hampshire	19.64	18.34	24.22	26.06	31.85	25.27
New Jersey	25.12	23.46	24.85	30.06	28.06	26.89
New Mexico	10.05	7.13	8.80	12.66	20.75	22.81
New York	32.16	33.19	37.20	41.64	45.12	44.43
North Carolina	6.95	6.76	8.36	8.37	9.74	10.19
North Dakota	17.15	20.44	25.82	25.00	26.95	22.02
Ohio	18.54	18.02	18.94	23.25	22.12	22.13
Oklahoma	4.65	4.95	8.94	8.41	10.05	9.88
Oregon	13.66	13.74	14.90	18.14	23.38	22.47
Pennsylvania	[1] 18.74	[1] 20.15	[1] 19.79	[1] 27.97	[1] 26.04	[1] 23.56
Rhode Island	19.60	19.22	21.00	30.78	34.60	31.10
South Carolina	6.13	6.05	6.90	11.43	13.60	9.80
South Dakota	19.15	17.13	9.11	13.73	28.90	22.77
Tennessee	8.66	10.12	8.49	6.42	10.14	12.88
Texas	6.76	7.73	7.10	7.83	10.36	9.62
Utah	14.87	14.89	15.44	17.26	21.68	22.37
Vermont	15.36	20.14	20.22	22.49	31.59	35.34
Virginia	8.43	7.21	7.78	5.69	8.83	10.17
Washington	16.92	14.66	16.60	18.18	19.44	20.65
West Virginia	12.01	11.15	14.11	15.14	15.22	14.76
Wisconsin	24.28	29.87	27.94	20.48	24.86	24.37
Wyoming	11.46	10.84	12.47	22.80	20.41	23.32

See footnote at end of table.

Table 3.—Average Monthly General Relief Benefit per Family Case, by State, July 1933–December 1935—Continued

State	1934					
	July	August	September	October	November	December
United States	$24.36	$25.98	$24.25	$26.40	$28.40	$28.42
Alabama	12.81	16.47	14.22	13.22	16.61	14.80
Arizona	16.26	19.69	19.95	19.36	22.31	19.83
Arkansas	12.39	11.33	11.90	16.28	12.40	15.40
California	29.95	36.59	32.81	32.09	38.97	32.00
Colorado	26.83	27.52	29.52	25.32	26.98	27.43
Connecticut	33.27	33.66	32.97	35.54	37.21	43.14
Delaware	21.06	22.88	20.22	22.82	25.31	23.67
District of Columbia	30.09	32.40	29.53	32.73	33.60	31.80
Florida	13.82	13.46	12.32	14.41	13.12	13.75
Georgia	13.19	13.11	12.31	13.72	15.43	13.52
Idaho	15.50	22.98	24.32	24.94	28.78	31.63
Illinois	28.14	29.02	29.08	28.41	31.09	33.04
Indiana	22.87	26.08	25.22	28.89	28.09	28.58
Iowa	18.37	18.48	19.50	21.01	21.17	24.30
Kansas	18.45	22.16	20.72	19.72	25.20	22.96
Kentucky	7.80	8.27	8.23	9.79	10.53	11.49
Louisiana	22.54	19.36	21.94	24.25	23.72	25.99
Maine	36.82	43.21	44.90	40.08	43.85	40.11
Maryland	29.46	31.02	33.34	32.60	32.08	31.65
Massachusetts	37.22	44.67	38.75	40.07	44.93	43.50
Michigan	28.17	29.68	28.26	31.88	34.04	30.91
Minnesota	22.78	32.19	26.35	29.26	34.77	32.04
Mississippi	11.12	12.43	10.43	10.14	11.00	11.41
Missouri	14.06	17.53	17.31	16.41	20.26	19.62
Montana	25.72	31.20	30.98	32.26	34.83	32.92
Nebraska	19.03	23.68	20.65	23.49	24.04	26.44
Nevada	33.24	46.68	40.35	39.61	45.98	34.98
New Hampshire	25.94	27.48	28.26	34.67	34.14	40.82
New Jersey	29.98	28.92	30.67	35.77	34.66	35.89
New Mexico	22.11	24.47	18.94	16.31	18.26	15.54
New York	44.93	45.19	42.27	46.92	45.24	46.63
North Carolina	10.60	12.15	9.92	12.01	15.21	14.37
North Dakota	21.09	22.77	23.12	27.63	29.06	27.59
Ohio	24.19	25.42	24.05	24.24	26.35	29.31
Oklahoma	7.35	11.39	12.84	10.32	11.56	9.59
Oregon	24.31	27.34	26.85	26.64	28.49	26.33
Pennsylvania	[1] 23.29	[1] 25.65	[1] 21.16	29.53	34.86	37.27
Rhode Island	30.68	36.77	30.27	30.78	41.93	34.85
South Carolina	10.43	10.31	9.86	12.96	12.09	11.48
South Dakota	23.17	28.15	24.52	27.93	32.38	27.71
Tennessee	15.61	16.72	7.38	8.96	11.31	11.16
Texas	11.07	12.28	12.32	13.18	15.84	15.33
Utah	21.64	29.03	30.33	30.41	29.62	26.91
Vermont	27.74	32.21	27.60	29.44	34.86	30.20
Virginia	11.13	10.70	10.43	12.10	13.25	12.48
Washington	21.10	24.59	18.77	19.54	25.01	22.99
West Virginia	14.94	13.79	15.16	16.40	17.68	15.99
Wisconsin	36.06	37.41	34.12	38.16	35.75	33.51
Wyoming	28.15	29.02	32.13	37.80	26.99	27.96

See footnote at end of table.

Table 3.—Average Monthly General Relief Benefit per Family Case, by State, July 1933–December 1935—Continued

State	1935					
	January	February	March	April	May	June
United States	$30.45	$28.00	$28.83	$28.96	$29.33	$28.17
Alabama	18.06	16.02	16.72	17.34	20.96	17.37
Arizona	19.58	17.66	28.90	23.55	23.43	24.69
Arkansas	12.56	11.97	11.57	13.47	16.00	15.60
California	39.96	38.52	38.63	41.39	49.02	43.08
Colorado	30.69	28.38	29.48	26.52	28.19	29.32
Connecticut	43.38	40.93	44.76	44.43	43.91	42.95
Delaware	23.20	20.50	19.59	19.40	24.34	24.33
District of Columbia	37.61	33.56	34.26	32.00	36.32	32.23
Florida	13.99	10.65	12.37	13.18	14.02	12.49
Georgia	15.02	14.98	17.09	16.90	17.16	17.40
Idaho	25.03	18.78	21.64	20.84	21.33	21.09
Illinois	35.06	32.21	33.81	30.99	18.59	30.85
Indiana	28.65	26.06	27.77	27.83	26.90	25.43
Iowa	25.36	24.36	25.11	22.99	22.53	22.34
Kansas	26.95	28.22	24.84	23.40	26.95	22.04
Kentucky	11.26	9.89	10.80	11.00	14.00	11.26
Louisiana	26.71	26.08	26.56	27.68	26.04	26.91
Maine	38.26	34.23	35.04	31.44	34.59	32.62
Maryland	33.54	29.66	30.99	30.14	30.04	27.59
Massachusetts	47.84	42.66	45.04	44.97	49.48	43.87
Michigan	32.73	29.97	30.48	29.49	31.06	27.31
Minnesota	34.82	31.57	32.07	31.86	33.21	31.03
Mississippi	13.56	11.96	14.15	13.10	15.23	13.28
Missouri	20.43	18.86	19.63	18.57	17.84	17.71
Montana	36.62	32.84	26.56	26.89	26.81	26.17
Nebraska	26.59	24.19	25.91	26.83	25.38	24.44
Nevada	48.84	42.01	43.62	44.00	52.97	46.75
New Hampshire	28.58	29.12	33.35	33.88	36.59	34.23
New Jersey	33.30	32.44	34.09	31.55	31.31	30.76
New Mexico	22.12	17.06	20.94	14.77	12.32	14.61
New York	47.91	43.67	46.20	46.31	46.91	44.51
North Carolina	14.93	12.05	13.73	13.80	16.16	14.44
North Dakota	29.08	27.69	29.22	28.81	29.82	24.16
Ohio	30.60	25.59	26.10	26.71	27.28	28.26
Oklahoma	11.16	8.45	7.02	7.50	11.75	11.39
Oregon	30.33	27.17	26.61	24.38	29.85	25.69
Pennsylvania	42.50	39.38	37.08	40.18	37.97	34.74
Rhode Island	43.05	36.36	35.20	34.04	38.79	31.92
South Carolina	11.08	8.72	9.10	9.41	11.32	10.83
South Dakota	25.04	24.18	23.68	22.53	25.23	15.01
Tennessee	14.49	16.72	16.76	16.75	17.27	15.10
Texas	16.97	15.21	13.73	14.61	15.69	11.78
Utah	29.84	28.04	27.56	26.93	20.23	24.61
Vermont	32.20	29.69	32.37	32.24	38.76	32.62
Virginia	13.91	12.88	15.27	16.88	18.35	16.00
Washington	25.18	19.92	21.59	23.43	25.29	20.71
West Virginia	18.82	14.93	17.19	15.82	15.82	13.04
Wisconsin	36.94	38.70	36.73	35.63	38.35	34.61
Wyoming	24.53	24.17	25.80	22.35	27.21	23.08

Table 3.—Average Monthly General Relief Benefit per Family Case, by State, July 1933–December 1935—Continued

State	1935					
	July	August	September	October	November	December
United States	$29.64	$28.41	$25.86	$27.87	$23.87	$23.16
Alabama	17.70	20.21	15.69	16.13	7.10	9.21
Arizona	24.54	23.41	26.41	23.84	17.39	13.92
Arkansas	16.35	15.35	13.62	13.03	11.73	11.87
California	45.38	52.91	44.17	48.34	38.70	32.77
Colorado	28.38	32.63	24.82	27.84	20.62	23.15
Connecticut	43.44	43.55	42.38	43.48	33.64	27.78
Delaware	25.14	23.70	22.36	22.78	23.03	19.74
District of Columbia	41.24	34.40	32.74	44.81	31.29	26.67
Florida	10.06	11.27	10.06	10.26	7.15	38.77
Georgia	16.63	18.64	15.14	19.64	8.90	13.27
Idaho	23.91	32.42	21.38	22.56	20.83	23.39
Illinois	29.42	31.39	31.56	27.26	25.65	21.58
Indiana	21.74	16.94	16.01	15.22	14.46	14.70
Iowa	22.18	22.77	22.11	25.28	20.45	17.19
Kansas	22.10	23.54	17.51	21.88	12.69	11.91
Kentucky	10.13	10.12	9.39	9.93	9.83	6.88
Louisiana	26.17	21.97	22.22	18.30	11.41	9.49
Maine	24.52	29.26	25.77	26.47	26.33	26.10
Maryland	31.95	34.60	29.02	30.95	28.86	24.17
Massachusetts	44.50	49.92	43.89	46.50	34.93	31.17
Michigan	29.58	30.99	28.27	30.54	25.22	21.24
Minnesota	32.03	29.38	28.29	30.82	29.58	27.80
Mississippi	12.96	13.37	11.90	14.30	9.96	14.04
Missouri	18.61	16.35	15.71	17.24	15.75	14.15
Montana	27.38	28.14	25.86	26.68	28.40	17.36
Nebraska	25.18	24.58	24.34	28.03	21.42	20.22
Nevada	46.27	53.57	44.04	30.43	21.55	15.26
New Hampshire	31.52	28.33	28.37	32.70	29.84	31.60
New Jersey	31.96	32.59	31.31	32.82	30.46	26.81
New Mexico	12.40	13.46	12.25	10.73	7.81	5.79
New York	49.06	38.57	42.03	43.39	39.11	35.81
North Carolina	14.32	12.09	12.85	14.44	10.49	4.87
North Dakota	22.11	22.32	22.09	25.22	23.22	19.21
Ohio	31.15	25.11	16.99	22.05	22.94	20.17
Oklahoma	8.79	9.93	7.36	10.38	6.58	8.71
Oregon	26.80	31.31	26.76	24.77	22.22	15.38
Pennsylvania	37.80	34.26	33.85	36.52	30.22	32.49
Rhode Island	32.13	39.13	32.82	36.52	22.10	19.52
South Carolina	12.27	10.05	8.78	8.41	8.46	6.66
South Dakota	23.34	24.37	23.25	24.27	20.95	13.96
Tennessee	11.60	10.00	10.45	9.46	9.27	6.52
Texas	13.92	11.65	10.54	11.19	9.19	7.65
Utah	24.58	29.52	24.34	23.73	23.75	20.01
Vermont	24.60	18.85	16.71	20.53	16.63	17.05
Virginia	17.65	16.72	15.37	16.64	8.25	8.71
Washington	23.21	27.45	20.69	25.58	21.50	19.06
West Virginia	13.37	13.31	12.11	15.07	11.69	9.49
Wisconsin	36.53	37.82	27.87	30.72	25.66	23.35
Wyoming	34.24	25.26	22.00	18.53	15.75	19.85

[1] Figures represent average monthly amount of relief extended per case; comparable family data not available.

Source: Data reported to the FERA by State Emergency Relief Administrations.

Table 4.—Cumulative Percent of Family Cases Residing in Counties With Specified Average Monthly General Relief Benefit per Case, by Region, Selected Months, 1933–1935

Region	Total [1]	Amount of general relief benefit																	
		Less than $40	Less than $35	Less than $30	Less than $28	Less than $26	Less than $25	Less than $24	Less than $22	Less than $20	Less than $18	Less than $16	Less than $14	Less than $12	Less than $10	Less than $9	Less than $8	Less than $7	Less than $6
	Cumulative percent																		
SEPTEMBER 1933																			
United States	100.0	99.3	97.4	84.1	81.9	77.9	77.5	75.8	73.5	69.3	58.6	50.3	44.2	36.2	27.3	23.2	19.7	15.2	10.6
New England	100.0	99.2	73.8	61.2	55.0	42.4	41.4	37.5	18.3	11.6	4.7	4.6	4.1	4.1	0.3	—	—	—	—
Middle Atlantic	100.0	97.5	94.6	64.8	60.4	57.5	57.1	54.6	52.8	50.7	36.4	17.0	10.2	4.4	0.7	0.5	0.5	0.4	0.1
East South Central	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9	99.9	99.9	99.9	99.9	99.9	96.3	90.1	86.3	80.0	70.7	53.1	46.1	37.3	23.9	15.8
Southeastern	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	98.2	96.2	94.9	88.4	79.8	61.1	53.5	44.5	34.0	23.0
East Central	100.0	99.9	99.9	79.3	77.9	65.9	65.1	61.7	58.5	49.6	35.0	30.3	25.8	17.9	10.3	5.2	3.9	3.1	1.2
West Central	100.0	99.8	99.8	99.7	99.7	99.5	99.3	99.1	98.7	92.3	83.1	76.2	65.1	45.2	29.1	22.9	15.7	10.1	6.2
Southwestern	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9	99.9	99.8	96.0	91.0	86.4	79.5	73.0	62.9	48.8
Mountain	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9	99.9	99.9	98.9	98.2	96.2	78.6	59.1	43.6	28.2	22.6	11.3	6.8	1.7
Pacific	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.6	91.1	91.1	91.0	90.3	86.1	84.8	40.1	28.3	24.5	12.3	8.9	8.1	5.5	4.7	4.3
JUNE 1934																			
United States	100.0	88.8	80.7	76.0	69.5	61.8	59.6	56.3	49.2	43.1	37.5	32.8	26.9	20.4	13.9	11.0	8.9	6.5	4.2
New England	100.0	90.6	70.4	51.4	30.2	19.1	16.9	15.3	9.4	0.5	0.5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Middle Atlantic	100.0	61.8	56.5	46.2	33.4	23.0	19.8	17.7	11.7	5.6	2.6	1.5	0.6	0.3	0.2	0.1	0.1	—	—
East South Central	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.0	93.7	90.5	80.5	71.2	63.3	47.3	42.8	40.2	35.4	24.7
Southeastern	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.8	99.6	99.3	99.1	94.6	92.2	83.6	77.3	67.0	46.6	30.8	21.3	15.1	9.1	5.0
East Central	100.0	97.9	78.5	70.2	61.9	56.7	54.1	49.9	35.1	25.0	17.6	12.3	7.8	4.9	1.4	0.7	0.5	0.3	0.2
West Central	100.0	99.8	98.7	91.4	89.1	81.8	80.6	71.2	62.1	56.6	46.2	37.0	25.7	15.0	11.1	9.2	8.3	7.8	4.6
Southwestern	100.0	99.5	99.3	98.9	98.6	98.4	98.4	98.3	97.3	97.2	96.5	92.0	81.9	70.1	49.7	39.1	28.3	16.4	9.6
Mountain	100.0	94.2	85.3	81.9	73.0	70.9	65.7	64.4	52.4	35.9	29.9	21.9	11.1	4.0	2.1	0.9	0.3	0.2	0.2
Pacific	100.0	99.9	91.4	91.4	87.3	43.5	36.4	26.3	23.6	19.0	12.2	9.9	6.5	5.8	5.5	4.6	4.3	2.8	2.5
JANUARY 1935																			
United States	100.0	71.3	62.3	49.4	45.0	39.8	37.8	36.0	31.9	27.6	22.9	19.4	15.1	10.8	6.2	3.6	2.2	1.1	0.2
New England	100.0	26.8	10.4	3.9	1.9	1.5	1.3	1.3	1.1	0.3	0.3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Middle Atlantic	100.0	36.7	18.4	8.9	5.5	2.7	1.8	1.6	0.8	0.5	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.1	—	—	—	—	—
East South Central	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.8	99.1	97.7	96.2	93.4	91.6	83.1	71.4	65.4	56.0	43.5	25.2	14.2	7.9	3.2	1.1
Southeastern	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.5	93.3	92.5	92.4	91.9	84.7	81.0	65.1	58.2	50.4	35.4	18.0	11.8	7.6	2.9	0.6
East Central	100.0	68.9	62.6	40.0	32.3	21.4	19.0	16.5	11.5	6.9	4.1	2.0	0.8	0.2	0.1	—	—	—	—
West Central	100.0	92.6	84.0	63.0	58.9	49.5	43.1	38.6	29.8	22.1	17.7	15.7	12.6	10.1	5.7	3.1	1.7	0.8	0.3
Southwestern	100.0	99.7	99.6	99.3	98.4	97.9	97.5	96.2	92.1	86.0	77.2	66.6	43.8	29.3	18.7	10.5	7.0	4.7	0.7
Mountain	100.0	92.6	73.6	64.5	50.1	39.0	36.9	31.5	20.5	11.6	7.8	1.9	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Pacific	100.0	72.9	61.5	21.5	20.4	14.4	10.6	8.9	7.1	2.2	0.5	0.3	0.1	0.1	—	—	—	—	—

JUNE 1935

United States	100.0	80.8	66.6	56.6	49.4	45.4	42.1	40.7	35.1	30.6	26.2	21.9	18.0	12.7	6.5	3.7	1.9	1.1	0.5
New England	100.0	33.5	18.1	6.5	1.2	0.2	0.1	0.1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Middle Atlantic	100.0	61.2	41.0	18.2	9.5	5.5	3.9	2.7	1.0	0.5	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.1	—	—	—	—	—
East South Central	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9	99.7	97.2	93.5	89.8	83.7	74.3	65.3	50.2	23.0	11.9	4.5	1.1	0.9
Southeastern	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.7	92.1	91.9	91.1	90.9	85.0	80.3	71.5	56.7	45.0	29.1	14.1	5.8	2.6	1.4	0.8
East Central	100.0	96.5	66.6	57.6	49.9	40.6	35.6	31.0	19.0	10.3	6.6	3.5	1.5	0.6	0.1	—	—	—	—
West Central	100.0	99.9	93.5	84.7	72.8	68.9	64.8	61.5	51.3	39.1	28.3	23.3	18.6	17.3	13.3	11.1	7.2	4.3	1.7
Southwestern	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.8	99.8	98.3	96.6	95.8	93.8	88.7	76.2	49.4	23.7	12.7	5.9	4.6	2.0
Mountain	100.0	98.6	85.8	77.7	59.8	50.5	42.1	39.5	28.3	17.8	7.4	2.9	1.2	0.2	—	—	—	—	—
Pacific	100.0	39.0	35.2	32.3	26.1	23.9	23.5	19.3	16.8	14.4	6.3	0.9	0.4	—	—	—	—	—	—

[1] Includes those receiving $40 or more.

Source: Data reported to the FERA by State Emergency Relief Administrations.

Table 5.—Average Monthly General Relief Benefit per Case, by State, Selected Months, 1933–1935 [1]

[1,417 rural counties [2]]

Region and State	Number of counties	July 1933	October 1933	January 1934	April 1934	July 1934	October 1934	January 1935	April 1935	July 1935	October 1935
New England:											
Maine	3	$33.97	$34.25	$38.13	$30.44	$32.02	$41.36	$35.42	$28.38	$25.11	$26.04
New Hampshire	1	15.32	28.21	24.62	31.26	35.13	38.07	25.92	25.15	26.01	21.27
Vermont	5	19.70	17.48	18.93	39.82	28.15	29.38	26.76	25.20	21.90	26.96
Massachusetts	1	22.50	30.98	6.47	22.62	21.78	20.66	27.39	29.88	35.60	34.02
Rhode Island [3]											
Connecticut [3]											
Middle Atlantic:											
New York	2	22.81	25.94	20.87	29.70	39.65	35.60	33.13	30.11	37.35	33.76
New Jersey	1	12.98	15.67	15.98	19.35	24.05	26.39	24.10	24.24	22.77	22.55
Pennsylvania	7	10.16	37.65	16.96	17.82	20.42	25.05	31.74	27.48	28.20	26.59
East North Central:											
Ohio	13	10.54	11.58	9.19	11.27	12.55	14.83	16.99	15.93	16.67	9.79
Indiana	22	9.95	12.48	10.92	10.02	13.84	21.01	19.86	20.50	15.47	10.19
Illinois	27	8.68	8.43	9.26	10.96	22.14	15.79	20.23	17.01	16.90	16.17
Michigan	27	12.68	14.39	9.51	11.65	16.84	18.65	20.14	19.53	18.89	16.92
Wisconsin	22	15.54	16.72	12.95	12.42	30.48	23.04	21.78	21.96	22.88	19.63
West North Central:											
Minnesota	39	10.25	13.81	11.99	13.79	12.26	16.60	27.22	23.66	22.98	21.22
Iowa	30	10.88	11.88	11.36	10.21	13.15	16.01	21.38	19.74	16.65	19.02
Missouri	61	3.34	3.74	3.27	6.42	6.63	8.28	11.28	7.25	8.22	8.57
North Dakota	41	12.50	15.74	16.44	21.40	20.23	24.03	25.63	25.64	19.71	22.60
South Dakota	54	12.29	16.69	17.46	12.67	22.62	26.89	23.37	21.09	21.25	20.19
Nebraska	61	18.90	11.44	11.99	16.65	13.68	18.25	21.04	22.81	17.84	16.77
Kansas	56	9.88	10.07	11.00	16.05	22.15	16.37	24.67	21.98	20.56	19.14
South Atlantic:											
Delaware [3]											
Maryland	8	11.00	18.18	12.44	12.11	15.43	17.08	20.81	15.02	16.80	18.69
District of Columbia [3]											
Virginia	82	4.57	5.03	9.77	3.69	9.18	9.14	10.06	13.44	13.19	11.24
West Virginia	27	7.57	12.05	13.71	8.03	11.28	12.66	14.06	12.49	10.08	12.12
North Carolina	48	4.94	6.64	5.72	7.37	7.21	8.39	10.27	10.37	10.86	11.83
South Carolina	14	3.72	7.62	5.97	9.12	9.17	11.90	9.50	7.96	9.93	6.36
Georgia	101	3.07	8.74	6.09	8.54	7.52	8.94	9.28	13.82	11.84	8.84
Florida	31	6.06	11.05	4.35	16.05	12.98	15.36	9.75	11.70	8.77	9.78
East South Central:											
Kentucky	76	5.00	5.99	9.14	5.19	5.98	7.67	9.23	9.41	8.08	8.41
Tennessee	54	5.45	6.76	7.46	5.40	12.15	6.14	9.82	12.77	8.44	5.16
Alabama	33	4.00	8.53	7.68	7.62	10.48	9.45	13.80	14.73	15.55	12.39
Mississippi	46	3.15	6.23	8.64	8.67	9.46	8.45	11.57	12.42	11.54	12.97
West South Central:											
Arkansas	31	4.66	6.29	8.00	3.08	8.62	12.81	9.89	10.42	12.50	8.91
Louisiana	28	11.66	12.79	19.21	16.87	19.69	16.79	23.26	24.04	17.83	12.79
Oklahoma	27	4.87	6.06	5.22	8.04	8.59	9.55	8.93	7.35	8.63	10.72
Texas	126	5.40	6.54	5.43	6.31	9.06	11.36	15.39	13.70	13.19	10.28
Mountain:											
Montana	40	12.24	12.58	13.77	16.66	17.69	24.41	25.42	20.43	19.88	22.02
Idaho	25	11.94	13.97	12.24	17.92	14.55	21.13	21.58	18.74	20.57	20.49
Wyoming	16	11.73	13.48	11.66	18.96	22.81	30.23	20.73	18.98	26.61	12.65
Colorado	39	8.45	6.36	4.97	9.52	18.34	18.50	27.97	20.30	22.61	23.00
New Mexico	16	3.73	4.99	5.65	5.60	16.08	13.87	17.71	11.29	10.13	9.52
Arizona	5	5.79	12.43	14.67	14.05	14.23	16.85	17.88	19.55	21.29	19.79
Utah	17	8.21	9.53	9.79	12.37	14.77	19.61	21.92	21.19	19.65	17.24
Nevada	13	20.08	14.80	10.33	11.41	18.57	30.27	27.71	31.47	33.51	19.01
Pacific:											
Washington	14	11.26	21.72	13.13	29.61	17.80	14.74	19.21	16.63	17.44	18.07
Oregon	12	13.72	11.76	8.86	9.54	12.82	17.25	19.08	19.14	17.49	15.31
California	17	8.59	10.58	8.76	9.74	17.57	13.47	28.04	26.09	27.18	25.88

[1] Averages based on monthly data on obligations incurred for general relief extended to cases and case loads as reported to the FERA.

[2] These include all the counties in the United States which had no center of 2,500 inhabitants or more in 1930. Counties which had not submitted complete reports for particular months were omitted from the computation for that month.

[3] No counties which had no center of 2,500 inhabitants or more in 1930.

Source: Rural Section, Division of Social Research, Works Progress Administration.

Table 6.—Average Number of General Relief Persons per Case and per Family Case, by State, Selected Months, 1934–1935

Region and State	July 1934		October 1934		January 1935		April 1935		July 1935		October 1935	
	Per case	Per family	Per case	Per family	Per case	Per family	Per case	Per family	Per case	Per family	Per case	Per family
United States	3.9	4.3	3.9	4.3	3.8	4.3	3.8	4.2	3.7	4.2	3.6	4.1
New England:												
Maine	4.0	4.7	4.0	4.5	4.1	4.7	4.0	4.6	4.3	4.7	4.0	4.6
New Hampshire	3.4	4.2	3.7	4.4	3.5	4.2	3.8	4.4	3.5	4.2	3.6	4.3
Vermont	4.0	4.7	3.9	4.6	3.9	4.6	3.8	4.6	3.9	4.5	3.8	4.9
Massachusetts	3.9	4.4	3.8	4.3	3.9	4.3	3.9	4.4	3.9	4.4	4.0	4.5
Rhode Island	4.3	4.6	4.1	4.5	4.1	4.5	4.1	4.6	4.0	4.5	3.9	4.4
Connecticut	4.1	4.5	4.1	4.5	4.2	4.6	4.2	4.7	4.3	4.7	4.2	4.7
Middle Atlantic:												
New York	4.0	4.4	3.8	4.3	3.7	4.3	3.6	4.2	3.5	4.2	3.3	4.1
New Jersey	3.9	4.3	3.7	4.3	3.7	4.2	3.6	4.2	3.6	4.2	3.5	4.1
Pennsylvania	4.0	4.5	4.0	4.5	3.9	4.5	3.8	4.4	3.8	4.4	3.7	4.4
East North Central:												
Ohio	3.6	4.3	3.6	4.2	3.6	4.1	3.5	4.1	3.4	4.0	3.3	4.0
Indiana	3.8	4.2	3.8	4.3	3.7	4.2	3.7	4.2	3.7	4.2	3.4	4.0
Illinois	3.5	3.7	3.4	3.6	3.4	3.6	3.3	3.5	3.3	3.4	3.2	3.3
Michigan	3.8	4.2	3.8	4.2	3.7	4.1	3.7	4.2	3.6	4.2	3.6	4.1
Wisconsin	3.9	4.4	3.7	4.4	3.7	4.3	3.6	4.3	3.5	4.2	3.4	4.2
West North Central:												
Minnesota	4.1	4.5	4.1	4.6	4.0	4.5	3.7	4.4	3.5	4.2	3.4	4.2
Iowa	4.0	4.2	4.0	4.3	4.1	4.4	4.0	4.3	4.1	4.3	4.1	4.4
Missouri	3.8	4.2	3.7	4.1	3.7	4.1	3.8	4.2	3.7	4.1	3.6	4.1
North Dakota	4.6	4.9	4.7	5.0	4.5	4.9	4.6	5.0	4.6	5.0	4.7	5.1
South Dakota	4.1	4.4	4.0	4.2	4.1	4.4	4.1	4.4	3.7	4.1	3.7	4.1
Nebraska	3.8	4.3	3.8	4.3	3.9	4.4	3.6	4.1	3.5	4.1	3.2	4.0
Kansas	3.9	4.2	3.8	4.2	3.7	4.1	3.8	4.1	3.6	4.0	3.5	3.9
South Atlantic:												
Delaware	3.6	3.9	3.6	3.9	3.6	3.9	3.6	3.9	3.7	4.2	3.4	3.9
Maryland	3.9	4.3	3.9	4.4	3.9	4.4	3.8	4.4	3.8	4.3	3.8	4.4
District of Columbia	2.9	3.7	3.0	4.0	2.9	4.0	2.7	3.6	2.8	3.7	2.7	3.7
Virginia	4.7	4.9	4.8	5.0	4.6	4.8	4.6	4.8	4.4	4.7	4.2	4.5
West Virginia	4.3	4.7	4.3	4.7	4.2	4.6	4.2	4.6	4.1	4.6	4.0	4.5
North Carolina	4.4	4.8	4.3	4.7	4.6	4.9	4.7	4.9	4.6	4.8	4.5	4.7
South Carolina	4.1	4.6	4.3	4.7	4.3	4.7	4.1	4.5	4.3	4.6	4.2	4.5
Georgia	4.1	4.5	4.0	4.4	4.0	4.4	3.9	4.2	3.8	4.1	3.5	4.0
Florida	3.6	4.0	3.6	4.0	3.7	4.1	3.7	4.1	3.8	4.1	3.6	4.0
East South Central:												
Kentucky	4.6	4.8	4.5	4.7	4.6	4.8	4.6	4.8	4.6	4.8	4.6	4.8
Tennessee	4.6	4.7	4.6	4.7	4.6	4.8	4.6	4.7	4.5	4.7	4.5	4.6
Alabama	4.2	4.4	4.0	4.3	3.9	4.2	3.9	4.2	3.9	4.2	4.1	4.5
Mississippi	3.7	4.3	3.5	4.1	3.8	4.3	3.6	4.2	3.3	3.9	3.2	3.8
West South Central:												
Arkansas	4.3	4.4	4.2	4.4	4.4	4.5	4.1	4.3	4.0	4.2	4.0	4.1
Louisiana	3.9	4.1	4.1	4.3	3.8	4.1	3.8	4.1	3.8	4.1	3.7	4.1
Oklahoma	4.6	4.8	4.5	4.6	4.6	4.7	4.5	4.6	4.5	4.6	4.4	4.5
Texas	4.1	4.4	4.1	4.4	4.1	4.4	4.1	4.4	3.8	4.3	3.7	4.1
Mountain:												
Montana	3.3	4.1	3.5	4.4	3.5	4.2	3.5	4.2	3.5	4.3	3.4	4.2
Idaho	3.8	4.4	3.8	4.4	3.8	4.3	3.7	4.2	3.7	4.3	3.6	4.3
Wyoming	3.8	3.9	3.7	4.2	3.8	4.3	3.7	4.3	3.3	4.0	2.9	3.9
Colorado	3.7	4.2	3.6	4.2	3.7	4.3	3.6	4.2	3.6	4.2	3.6	4.2
New Mexico	4.2	4.4	4.2	4.5	4.2	4.5	4.1	4.6	4.2	4.6	4.0	4.4
Arizona	3.7	4.4	3.7	4.4	3.7	4.4	3.8	4.4	3.7	4.4	3.5	4.3
Utah	3.9	4.5	3.9	4.5	4.0	4.5	3.9	4.4	3.8	4.4	3.8	4.4
Nevada	2.2	3.6	2.3	3.6	2.5	3.7	2.7	3.7	2.6	3.7	2.5	3.6
Pacific:												
Washington	3.3	3.9	3.4	4.0	3.3	3.9	3.3	3.9	3.3	3.9	3.2	3.9
Oregon	3.4	3.8	3.2	3.7	3.4	3.9	3.4	3.9	3.2	3.7	3.3	3.8
California	3.2	3.8	3.4	4.0	3.1	3.7	3.0	3.7	3.0	3.7	2.9	3.7

Source: Data reported to the FERA by State Emergency Relief Administrations.

Table 7.—Percent Distribution of General Relief Cases, by Size of Case, by State, October 1933

State	Size of case		
	1 person	2, 3, and 4 persons	5 persons or more
United States	13.1	51.4	35.5
Nevada	53.9	33.3	12.8
Oregon	26.0	51.7	22.3
Wyoming	25.3	44.9	29.8
Montana	25.2	45.4	29.4
District of Columbia	24.4	55.8	19.8
Minnesota	23.7	45.5	30.8
Massachusetts	22.9	45.6	31.5
California	22.1	56.3	21.6
Colorado	21.7	49.1	29.2
Idaho	20.8	48.0	31.2
Washington	19.2	56.0	24.8
Wisconsin	19.1	47.9	33.0
Utah	17.7	45.5	36.8
New Hampshire	17.6	43.5	38.9
Illinois	17.4	53.6	29.0
Missouri	17.1	54.4	28.5
Arizona	16.9	45.6	37.5
Ohio	16.2	52.1	31.7
Florida	15.2	56.2	28.6
New Mexico	15.1	44.4	40.5
Arkansas	14.9	53.5	31.6
Delaware	14.1	55.1	30.8
Maine	13.1	43.0	43.9
Texas	13.0	51.3	35.7
Nebraska	12.8	51.4	35.8
Pennsylvania	12.6	47.1	40.3
Indiana	12.4	54.3	33.3
Georgia	12.1	53.0	34.9
Vermont	11.9	45.6	42.5
Mississippi	11.9	49.7	38.4
Michigan	11.8	52.7	35.5
Connecticut	11.8	48.6	39.6
New Jersey	11.4	51.2	37.4
North Dakota	11.3	41.0	47.7
Kansas	10.9	57.4	31.7
Oklahoma	10.8	53.6	35.6
North Carolina	10.8	44.1	45.1
Rhode Island	10.0	47.9	42.1
South Carolina	9.9	46.3	43.8
West Virginia	9.8	46.5	43.7
Iowa	9.0	54.0	37.0
Virginia	8.5	49.7	41.8
South Dakota	8.4	48.6	42.0
New York	8.0	56.9	35.1
Louisiana	6.3	53.5	38.2
Maryland	5.9	56.3	37.8
Alabama	5.8	49.0	45.2
Kentucky	4.3	47.3	48.4
Tennessee	2.7	47.5	49.8

Source: *Unemployment Relief Census, October 1933*, Report No. 1, Federal Emergency Relief Administration, Washington, D. C., 1934, pp. 36–41.

Table 8.—Number of Cases Receiving Work Relief [1] as Percent of Total Cases Receiving General Relief, by State, Selected Months, 1934–1935

Region and State	July 1934	October 1934	January 1935	April 1935	July 1935	October 1935
United States	39.6	43.0	46.4	45.4	44.2	17.3
New England:						
Maine	46.2	55.6	45.8	38.7	39.1	35.7
New Hampshire	15.5	27.5	27.9	33.9	31.6	1.6
Vermont	53.2	54.1	53.3	63.4	62.0	15.5
Massachusetts	51.4	53.9	54.6	63.1	63.4	62.9
Rhode Island	90.5	89.8	89.4	90.3	91.5	87.3
Connecticut	41.1	43.4	50.3	52.2	54.3	49.4
Middle Atlantic:						
New York	45.0	37.6	32.8	32.1	33.5	18.5
New Jersey	7.6	8.1	4.9	4.7	5.4	3.9
Pennsylvania	20.6	3.2	27.5	11.5	10.3	—
East North Central:						
Ohio	26.5	22.6	21.2	21.1	22.4	3.9
Indiana	40.8	47.9	41.6	44.9	45.9	5.3
Illinois	21.5	28.7	32.9	36.1	23.2	3.5
Michigan	45.3	37.6	33.9	39.1	35.0	9.4
Wisconsin	44.3	50.8	24.8	25.1	35.3	1.5
West North Central:						
Minnesota	36.5	45.5	55.2	58.1	57.6	1.3
Iowa	56.9	63.6	61.0	58.7	62.9	49.6
Missouri	31.5	47.1	47.9	42.0	41.3	2.1
North Dakota	44.3	47.5	45.9	55.7	51.9	17.6
South Dakota	99.1	99.6	99.6	99.4	95.6	36.5
Nebraska	35.5	62.0	72.5	68.0	62.1	12.2
Kansas	75.0	83.7	86.2	86.5	82.4	—
South Atlantic:						
Delaware	—	—	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.5
Maryland	22.3	24.8	21.0	21.1	16.6	0.2
District of Columbia	50.9	49.2	49.8	54.6	55.5	36.7
Virginia	56.5	74.8	75.9	88.6	87.2	86.4
West Virginia	63.9	66.0	68.5	69.5	64.6	8.5
North Carolina	38.6	40.4	55.3	60.5	70.8	55.5
South Carolina	51.9	55.0	55.7	58.6	82.0	83.9
Georgia	34.5	43.5	72.9	69.0	85.0	71.1
Florida	65.1	76.2	78.9	81.1	98.0	6.8
East North Central:						
Kentucky	33.1	44.6	39.7	63.0	58.5	4.0
Tennessee	36.2	30.3	48.5	72.7	75.3	52.6
Alabama	51.7	61.8	62.9	75.2	79.6	16.3
Mississippi	30.0	42.7	60.3	69.0	66.9	61.0
West South Central:						
Arkansas	37.6	43.3	73.2	69.0	55.1	11.9
Louisiana	66.6	83.4	80.3	83.4	82.1	73.7
Oklahoma	56.5	84.7	83.9	86.1	87.9	86.8
Texas	40.9	51.7	61.8	59.3	61.9	4.9
Mountain:						
Montana	33.3	37.1	39.6	14.3	14.9	9.6
Idaho	72.3	76.8	71.7	42.6	51.0	42.5
Wyoming	71.6	74.3	69.5	68.3	66.6	12.8
Colorado	50.9	52.3	52.8	45.0	55.2	15.6
New Mexico	61.0	41.2	50.3	18.0	23.1	22.1
Arizona	60.4	68.4	65.2	70.6	66.3	0.3
Utah	47.7	56.6	47.9	54.4	51.5	24.9
Nevada	52.7	65.4	66.6	92.4	93.7	46.7
Pacific:						
Washington	20.9	26.4	39.4	8.4	16.9	7.5
Oregon	44.8	57.8	61.8	59.4	53.9	16.0
California	35.5	61.7	63.8	68.8	66.6	4.0

[1] Includes some cases also receiving direct relief to supplement earnings on work programs.

Source: Data reported to the FERA by State Emergency Relief Administrations.

Table 9.—Number of Cases Receiving Both Direct and Work Relief [1] as Percent of Total Cases Receiving General Relief,[2] by State, Selected Months, 1934–1935

Region and State	1934		1935			
	July	October	January	April	July	October
United States	10.7	12.4	16.6	16.8	14.9	6.2
New England:						
Maine	7.2	6.6	7.1	5.8	12.0	3.4
New Hampshire	5.9	15.6	6.1	6.5	6.8	0.2
Vermont	10.6	11.6	16.0	14.6	20.4	1.6
Massachusetts	4.4	5.4	10.3	11.7	7.1	13.0
Rhode Island	26.1	40.9	64.5	57.5	43.4	47.7
Connecticut	14.1	17.8	19.6	21.9	20.9	20.0
Middle Atlantic:						
New York	6.3	7.4	9.2	9.1	8.9	8.9
New Jersey	—	—	—	—	—	—
Pennsylvania	12.1	3.0	7.0	6.1	3.1	—
East North Central:						
Ohio	7.2	7.7	10.5	10.3	8.4	1.5
Indiana	7.0	15.9	11.9	13.6	21.5	2.0
Illinois	10.1	16.4	23.3	20.4	13.3	2.4
Michigan	10.8	14.1	13.5	16.2	12.8	1.2
Wisconsin	13.4	22.4	20.3	15.6	18.6	0.8
West North Central:						
Minnesota	4.9	16.9	18.7	19.9	23.7	0.7
Iowa	28.0	29.6	40.8	32.6	33.6	32.5
Missouri	3.7	5.8	7.7	22.0	20.4	1.3
North Dakota	14.6	25.5	27.0	30.0	22.7	10.8
South Dakota	1.3	2.1	6.3	4.9	8.1	14.1
Nebraska	15.1	21.0	13.5	7.7	7.6	7.6
Kansas	11.5	13.7	17.8	11.4	11.1	—
South Atlantic:						
Delaware	—	—	9.2	0.1	0.4	0.3
Maryland	11.5	13.4	13.9	10.1	5.3	*
District of Columbia	24.7	22.5	28.3	31.6	14.7	11.2
Virginia	12.1	14.2	23.3	9.3	18.0	13.9
West Virginia	6.1	8.9	11.9	6.5	14.6	4.0
North Carolina	12.1	14.3	22.4	31.2	35.9	31.0
South Carolina	12.3	14.5	19.5	16.1	16.4	12.0
Georgia	12.9	17.0	15.6	41.7	17.4	8.7
Florida	19.2	21.7	21.8	21.4	6.4	1.3
East South Central:						
Kentucky	15.4	24.3	22.0	12.4	43.0	2.5
Tennessee	12.4	18.0	28.8	37.5	23.3	36.2
Alabama	20.6	22.0	26.3	28.1	26.5	10.6
Mississippi	2.0	1.4	5.7	16.4	9.6	12.9
West South Central:						
Arkansas	5.5	15.1	57.7	58.4	50.0	3.7
Louisiana	15.8	27.1	26.7	33.0	19.0	19.5
Oklahoma	16.7	13.1	23.3	36.1	14.9	22.0
Texas	13.2	19.7	24.2	21.2	17.2	3.7
Mountain:						
Montana	9.1	18.2	21.6	9.4	7.1	4.6
Idaho	5.3	8.9	17.8	32.3	22.0	14.6
Wyoming	9.9	19.9	38.0	43.5	32.2	4.5
Colorado	16.5	15.5	32.3	37.8	17.4	11.7
New Mexico	13.1	10.1	17.5	11.7	7.6	6.3
Arizona	14.4	20.1	23.5	13.1	11.5	—
Utah	10.9	12.9	21.0	20.7	23.2	17.5
Nevada	24.7	8.8	17.4	5.1	3.9	16.6
Pacific:						
Washington	13.9	14.9	24.5	4.2	11.3	5.1
Oregon	26.4	30.6	33.6	31.4	29.4	12.5
California	16.7	8.5	20.2	21.5	32.5	3.0

*Less than 0.05 percent.

[1] Either successively or concurrently within the month.
[2] Net unduplicated total.
Source: Data reported to the FERA by State Emergency Relief Administrations.

Appendix B

LIST OF TABLES

TEXT TABLES

SUPPLEMENTARY TABLES

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